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THE DECLINE OF

THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

BY

1514

HENRI MARTIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH PARIS EDITION

BY MARY L. BOOTH.

VOL. I. PART II.

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1866.

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rendered September 19–30. From fifteen to sixteen thousand prisoners were taken in these places. Namur taken, the Marshal de Saxe united all the French forces, and assailed Prince Charles on the plateau of the left bank of the Meuse, between Liege and Visé. Raucoux, and three other villages which covered the enemies' front, were carried by main force after a murderous conflict; the Bavarians, whose sovereign had so ill requited the benefits of France, were cut to pieces by the French; and Prince Charles was thrown back in disorder on his bridges over the Meuse. Night prevented this defeat from becoming an utter rout. The enemies had lost from seven to eight thousand men and fifty cannon; the French, from three to four thousand men. The battle of Raucoux had no other result than to prevent the enemies from wintering in the province of Liege, and is worthy of remembrance only for the great forces that were displayed in it (the French had more than a hundred thousand men; the allies, eighty thousand), and for the skilful use made of the artillery by the Marshal de Saxe; each of the attacking columns having been provided with a powerful battery that advanced with it. Victors and vanquished went into winter-quarters. The whole country between the Meuse and the sea was in the power of the French: of all the Netherlands, nothing remained to Austria but Luxembourg and Limbourg. What an admirable text for the court and the gazette! Louis the *Well-beloved* had effected conquests refused to Louis the Great! Under Richelieu and under Louis XIV., it is true, the conquests were in earnest: each town taken was another step towards the natural frontiers, a new page in the book of the national destinies. To-day it was nought but the pageantry of war, theatrical triumphs, blood shed with no other aim than to conquer, with peace, the vapor of a vain fame.

It was, moreover, any thing but flattering to the national pride to owe these successes to a foreigner. Again: this foreigner, this Saxon bastard, had for his principal lieutenant another foreigner, a Danish bastard, the Count de Lowendahl, a man of merit, who had been trained by commanding the Russian armies under Marshal Münnich. No more generals were trained among us. The chief cause was the extinction of hard study and vigorous thought among the higher nobility; we have indicated elsewhere the special cause in the organization of the army.[1]

The French were masters of Belgium; but France was invaded

[1] According to Saint-Simon, whom Mirabeau forcibly confirms. — See *Mém. de Mirabeau*, t. I. liv. i., and *Correspondance de Saint-Simon*.

at two points,—Brittany, then Provence. At the end of September, an English squadron had landed in the Bay of Poulduc six thousand soldiers, who marched on Lorient in order to destroy the settlements and carry off the magazines of the Indian Company. The place was but half fortified, and was only defended by some hastily assembled militia. The commander capitulated. Happily, as he was about to deliver up the place, the English imagined that he was laying a snare for them, and was preparing to burst upon them with superior forces: seized with a panic, they reëmbarked, carrying away nothing but ridicule of their expedition (October 7–8).

The attack against Provence seemed more formidable. It was again the English that had caused it to be decided upon; for the Austrians, once masters of Genoa, would have far rather gone to conquer Naples. The position was critical. The Neapolitans had reëmbarked for their country; the greater part of the Spaniards had repaired by the way of Dauphiny to Savoy, the last possession left to Don Philip; the French army, melted away by battle, sickness, and desertion, numbered only twelve thousand men, besides a few Provençal militia; and the King of Sardinia was advancing with forty thousand Austro-Piedmontese, supported by the English fleet. It was not in a condition to dispute the crossing of the Var; and the Marshal de Belle-Isle, who reappeared at last in this war opened by him, and whom the cabinet had given Maillebois for a successor, thought himself obliged to fall back to Puget, four leagues from Toulon (the end of November). Half of Provence was abandoned to the fury of the Croats and the Pandours.

A great event prevented the enemy from profiting by the time that elapsed before the arrival of the reënforcements despatched from the army of Flanders. The conquerors of Genoa had cruelly abused their easy success. "The Austrians," says D'Argenson, "excelled in the cowardly and useful quality of unrelentingly pursuing their vanquished enemies." This quality is not always *useful*, as the Austrians experienced. Maria Theresa had treated the Genoese as the most rigorous sovereign would scarcely treat rebellious subjects:[1] she exacted of them ruinous contributions,

[1] "The Empress-Queen," says a historian, "was devoid of pity: no sovereign, perhaps, has caused more wide-spread desolation; has treated the conquered, or even neutral nations, invaded by her armies, with more barbarity, or has opposed a colder indifference to their prayers and lamentations."—Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. XXVIII. p. 411. Maria Theresa, indeed, possessed the family virtues, and strong affections for what surrounded her; but her narrow and harsh devotion was associated with scarcely any sentiment of humanity, and was no restraint on her favorite passion, vengeance.

Peint par Couder

Lowendal (Ulric-frédéric-Woldemar, Comte de)
17 Septemb. 1747 Maréchal de France † 1755.

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which did not spare the conquered population the extortions and insults of an unbridled soldiery. The Austrian commander, Botta-Adorno, the son of a Genoese refugee, threatened, at the least resistance, to burn the city, and massacre the inhabitants. The English, meanwhile, continued to intercept and pillage the Genoese ships, although Genoa had submitted, and there was no longer any war. The energetic people of Genoa lost patience. December 5, as the Austrians were carrying away the heavy artillery of the city, which they designed for the siege of Toulon, some soldiers attempted to force the passers-by with blows to harness themselves to a mortar. A shower of stones put them to flight: it was the signal for revolt. For five days, this brave people, without guides, without leaders,— for the rich men and the nobles remained shut up in their palaces,— fought infuriatedly in the labyrinth of the streets, on the steep parapets, and around the gates, of Genoa. December 10, Botta fled with his garrison, diminished five thousand men, and recrossed the Apennines. The Austrian detachments scattered along the Ligurian coast were hemmed in and taken by the mountaineers, roused to insurrection.

Genoa, in freeing itself, had liberated Provence. The Austro-Piedmontese and the English, deprived of siege-artillery, and disturbed by what had occurred in their rear, dared not advance on Toulon, and could not even take Antibes. January 21, 1747, the Marshal de Belle-Isle, strongly reënforced and become equal to the enemies, resumed the offensive at all points. The Austro-Piedmontese could not sustain the shock, and hastened to recross the Var (February 2). Their expedition had failed, like every attack directed against France on the south-east; but this time a foreign diversion had greatly contributed to it. France was not, at least, ungrateful to Genoa. Reparation was made for her shameful neglect of this courageous ally; and from February to May, in spite of the English cruisers, engineers, arms, troops, and a general, were sent to Genoa, that aided the Genoese to sustain themselves till the French army was in a posture to return to Italy.

The news of the deliverance of Genoa was the last joyful tidings received, before quitting power, by the minister who had dreamed of the independence of Italy. D'Argenson had just obtained a diplomatic victory in another point which he had not less at heart. He had remarried the young Dauphin, quite recently left a widower by the Infanta of Spain, to a daughter of the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland: it was a first step towards his aim to upraise Poland through what had been the instrument

of her decline,—the House of Saxony (December, 1746). At the very moment of this success, he was sacrificed to the rancor of the court of Spain, and the intrigues of Noailles and Maurepas (January 7, 1747). The King, during the embassy of Noailles to Spain, had corresponded with the ambassador unknown to the minister. He was beginning to acquire the habit of *conspiring* against his ministers, and keeping up two diplomacies, one secret, the other official; doing himself, an absolute king, through weakness, insincerity, and a puerile spirit of intrigue, what certain constitutional kings do through position. The wise and virtuous D'Argenson was not in his place in the cabinet of Versailles; and there is reason for astonishment, not that he did not remain in public affairs, but that it was possible for him to appear there. The national tradition disappeared with him from the government.[1] We have examined his designs concerning Italy and Poland: his designs as to England, Germany, and Holland, were not less wise, or less national,—to make Europe comprehend that it was not to her interest to submit to the commercial and maritime sway of England, to bring back Holland to the French alliance, to humble Austria through the support of Prussia, and to endeavor to deprive her of Bohemia. With a firm and lucid glance, he had embraced the whole position of Europe. No one in the ministry inherited the broad plans of this man, whom the wits of the court styled *D'Argenson la bête*, because he had only the *necessary* virtues, and was lacking in the accessory virtues, indispensable in such an age,—refined elegance of speech and manners, grace and suppleness of mind, and resignation to waste his time, and to sacrifice a part of himself to this frivolous society. Madame de Pompadour and Noailles replaced him by an insignificant minister, M. de Puisieux.

There are times in which men seem wanting to the destinies of a people; others in which the men manifest themselves, and are paralyzed by the incapacity and unworthiness of the rulers,—a spectacle still more painful, and which is presented in our history in the reign of Louis XV. We have witnessed the fall, at Versailles, of two ministers worthy of conducting the policy of France: we are about to witness the fruitless appearance, on the other side of the world, of heroes capable of giving to their country the empire of the seas and of the East. The maritime and colonial

[1] From the *official* government; for we shall see an effort, worthy of remark, manifest itself in the obscurity of secret diplomacy.

affairs, from the epoch that we have reached, present a more powerful and an intenser interest even than the affairs of Europe.

Maurepas and his officials had shown some activity in fitting out vessels, and in taking advantage of the few resources that remained to the kingdom,[1] but without any serious designs, and without any judgment in the choice of men. For instance, the fleet despatched to America, from 1740 to 1741, to protect the Spaniards, had cruelly suffered from the ignorance of a court sailor travestied into a vice-admiral of the West, — the Marquis d'Antin. In 1744, on the contrary, the squadron of the Mediterranean had been intrusted to an experienced officer, — the aged Lieutenant-General de Court. He did his duty admirably at the naval battle of Toulon, and was recalled through deference to the unjust complaints of the Spaniards. The French minister committed mistake after mistake.[2] The English knew how to profit by

[1] They did not exceed thirty-five ships of the line. England, according to Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*, ch. xxviii., had one hundred and thirty; all of which, indeed, she could not fit out and man at once.

[2] The injustice and fickleness of Maurepas had just caused the failure of the heroic efforts of a Canadian officer, M. de Varenne La Vérendrie, to penetrate Canada inland as far as the great north-west ocean, and to resolve the problem of the junction or the separation of the American and Asiatic continents. La Vérendrie hoped to find, in the vast space that separates the basin of the St. Lawrence from that of the Mississippi, some great river, flowing in an opposite direction from these two rivers, which would lead him to the China seas. Encouraged by the Governor of Canada, Beauharnais, who gave him, in default of a direct subsidy, the privilege of the slave-trade in those unknown regions (1731), he advanced first to Lake Winnipeg, five hundred leagues from our settlements; on reaching which, he claimed direct assistance from the Minister of the Marine. It was refused him (1733–1735). He pursued his courageous enterprise at his own expense with his four sons and his nephew. One of his sons was massacred by the savages; his nephew died: the father and three sons continued to persevere. After attempting different routes with unheard-of efforts, without meeting the great river flowing westward for which the father had hoped, two of the sons, ascending the Upper Missouri, discovered the Rocky Mountains in 1743. They were unable to cross this formidable barrier which separated them from the western ocean; and their father, overburdened with debt, and without assistance or any encouragement from the State, returned to Quebec, and restored his commission to the governor.

The Governor Beauharnais, and his successor La Galissonnière, by dint of remonstrances, finally wrung from Maurepas a partial justice. The La Vérendries again took the field (1748); but the father, worn out, expired at the moment when he was about to resume the direction of the expedition. A new governor of Canada, La Jonquière, despoiled the sons of the inheritance which they had purchased with their sweat and blood, and abandoned the enterprise, with the aim of a covetous traffic, to his favorites, who ruined it. The French did not cross the Rocky Mountains. The Russian expedition of Behring had the honor of resolving the separation of the continents; and the discovery and conquest of Oregon were reserved for the Anglo-Americans. — P. Margry, *Les La Varenne de La Vérendrie*, the *Moniteur*, September 14, 15, 1852.

them. In 1745, the English colonies of the American continent, the growth of which was constantly becoming more rapid, organized an expedition against Royal Island, or Cape Breton, a colony in which French America was seeking some indemnification for the loss of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Six thousand soldiers and volunteers, setting out from Boston, landed before Louisburg; a place which it had cost thirty millions to fortify since 1720, and which was the outer rampart of Canada, and the point of support of the French sea-fishery. Disorder was prevailing in Louisburg. The administrators of the colony were guilty of malversation, and would not pay the garrison; and the exasperated soldiers refused to serve. The Anglo-Americans, by favor of this confusion, took possession of a large battery which protected the harbor, and which they turned against the town. Louisburg surrendered after fifty days' siege (June, 1745); and the English transported to Brest the garrison and the expatriated inhabitants.[1] The enemy, completely master of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, made preparations to invade Canada, which he hemmed in by land and sea. In the following spring, Maurepas sent a squadron of ten ships, with transports and troops, to defend Canada, and to endeavor to recover Louisburg. He intrusted this to the Duke d'Enville, the Vice-Admiral of the Levant, who had attained the highest rank in the navy without having served anywhere except on the galleys of the Mediterranean. D'Enville threw his squadron to the south of the Azores, where it was retained by a prolonged calm. The scarcity of water and the bad quality of the provisions gave rise to a terrible scurvy, the ravages of which could not be arrested; and it finally reached Canada in a deplorable condition. D'Enville died of the epidemic, with nearly eight thousand sailors and soldiers; and three of the largest vessels were captured by the English on the return. The Governor of Canada, La Galissonnière, succeeded, nevertheless, in repelling the attacks of the English, thanks to the French colonists and the sympathy of the *red-skins*.

The attempts of the English against Martinique and our other West-India Islands were less successful than the Louisburg expedition; and forty privateers fitted out at Saint-Pierre (Martinique) avenged on British commerce the losses that French navigation experienced in the Caribbean Sea and elsewhere.

[1] Voltaire asserts that two of the Indian Company's ships, and a Spanish vessel, that had surrendered themselves by mistake to the English, the masters of Louisburg, carried a freight worth twenty-five millions. — *Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. xxviii.

Three-fourths of a convoy of forty merchant-vessels which had sailed from Martinique had been taken or destroyed in October, 1745; and two ships of the line that escorted it had succumbed in its defence. The English, in turn, lost in these seas nine hundred and fifty ships and barks, worth thirty millions. Admirable partial battles, sustained with unequal forces, attested that our navy had degenerated only in the leaders inflicted on our squadrons by an insane government.[1]

A more brilliant indemnification was offered us in the East Indies, despite the government and the Indian Company, who seemed to have agreed to destroy every thing. We have already named[2] the two extraordinary men who were then conducting the French interests in the Upper East, — La Bourdonnais and Dupleix. It is necessary to revert here to their origin and their labors before the war. Mahé de La Bourdonnais was born in 1699, in the country of Duguai-Trouin, — that Saint-Malo, so fruitful in heroic mariners, of a family of shipping-merchants,[3] that sent him to the South Sea when only ten years old. Entering the service of the Indian Company in 1719, he signalized himself in 1724 by the decisive share that he took in the conquest of Mahé, — a place which, captured from the natives, secured to the French a position on the coast of Malabar. He then made a large fortune by setting the example of free trade from one East-India port to another. In 1735, he was appointed Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, where he effected prodigies. At Bourbon, he had only to develop an agricultural prosperity commenced since the cultivation of coffee had been imported thither from Mocha, and to strive to lessen the inconveniences of the lack of harbors; but at the Isle of France, that great naval position, he created every thing, — agriculture, commerce, warehouses, fortifications, hospitals, dockyards, and roads, as well as laborers, militia, and sailors. The somewhat despotic proceedings by which he had disciplined the colonists, and secured his supremacy over the captains of the ships of the company, which was lax in its government, had raised him up many enemies, whom his rugged and domineering character was not calculated

[1] Sainte-Croix, *Hist. de la puissance navale de l'Angleterre*, t. II. p. 212; L. Guérin, *Hist. maritime de France*, t. II. ch. vii; Smollett, continuation of Hume, liv. xix.

[2] See *ante*, p. 193.

[3] His family had pretensions to nobility: but he cared little about it. "I have never consulted my family records much," he says in his Memoirs; "and I confess in good faith, that I am absolutely ignorant whether I am of gentle birth or not." — *Mém. de La Bourdonnais*, p. 53; Paris, 1828, 2d edition.

to disarm; and the company showed itself far from grateful for his services: it was dissatisfied with his expenditures in fortifying the Isle of France. In a voyage that he made to France in 1740, he succeeded, however, in dispelling these clouds, and in obtaining a hearing from the two ministers that had jurisdiction over him, — Maurepas and Orri. War appearing imminent with England, he proposed to the ministers an ably conceived plan to ruin the English commerce and colonies in India. For this he demanded six ships and two frigates. They were promised him: then the promise was broken, and he was given only three ships and two small frigates belonging to the company. He set out with this little squadron (April, 1741), merely touched at his islands, and went in haste to succor our Indian factories, not against the English (war not yet being declared), but the Mahrattas, — those warlike Hindoo tribes that had shaken off the yoke of the Mogul, ruled the south of the great peninsula, and rendered themselves equally formidable to the Mahometans and the Europeans.

The Mahrattas had appeared before Pondicherry, and demanded that a tribute should be paid them, and that the fugitive family of a Mahometan nabob whom they had conquered and taken should be delivered up to them. The governor, Dumas,[1] to whom our settlements owed notable progress, had proudly refused, and the Mahrattas had hesitated to attack Pondicherry; but the Malabars were besieging Mahé on the other side of the peninsula. La Bourdonnais liberated Mahé (the end of 1741), then returned to his islands to await the signal for war against the English.[2] He received, instead, an order to disarm his vessels, and to send them back to France (1743). September 1, 1744, he learned that war was at last declared in Europe, but at the same time received a new prohibition to attack the English. The Comptroller-General and the Company flattered themselves that neutrality would be maintained in India between the French and English companies; an absurd idea, which the English feigned not to reject, in order to give themselves time to complete their preparations. The Company did not recover from its delusion till it learned that its vessels were everywhere pillaged.

At the moment when the war broke out, it was no longer Du-

[1] He had obtained from the Grand Mogul the right of coining money, refused to other Europeans. The acquisition of Karikal was likewise due to him.

[2] It was during this interval that he discovered and occupied the little archipelago of Seychelles, and took possession of the Island of Rodrigues.

mas, but Dupleix, that commanded the French East-India colonies. Joseph François Dupleix, sprung from a family of financiers and administrators,[1] had not been destined, like La Bourdonnais, from birth, to a seafaring life. The escapades of a youth hard to govern, and too impetuous to submit to the monotonous life of an office, had induced his father to place him as ensign, at eighteen, on a ship from Saint-Malo. He definitively quitted France for the East Indies at the beginning of the *System*, "carrying with him the adventurous inspiration of Law."[2] The credit of his father, who had become one of the directors of the company, procured his entrance, as early as 1721, into the superior council of the French East Indies, at Pondicherry. He carried on the inter-Indian trade, or the coasting-trade among the East Indies, simultaneously with La Bourdonnais, perhaps even before him, and ere long on an incomparably larger scale, after he had been called to the direction of the factory of Chandernagore, on the Ganges.[3] Chandernagore, a wretched hamlet, without a single decked vessel, became through him a flourishing town, and a dockyard from which fifteen of the company's vessels were launched: he then made it the great centre of the inter-Indian trade. Seventy-two ships freighted by Dupleix, his friends and relatives, ploughed all the waters of Asia from the Arabian Gulf to the Philippines. Dupleix had supported the French settlement at the mouths of the Ganges by a second factory founded in the heart of Bengal, at Patna, thirty-eight leagues from Benares, the Holy City of the Brahmins. The English commerce in Bengal perished, stifled by this formidable competition. January 1, 1740, Dupleix was appointed governor of Pondicherry, and president of the superior council: October 23, 1742, he became governor-general of the French possessions in India. He began thenceforth to give scope to the ideas that were brooding in his heart. His commercial creations had been only the prelude to greater things: the genius of a Richelieu had ripened in a factory. Dupleix was the first to comprehend the inevitable re-

[1] He was born at Landrecies, at the end of 1696; and was originally from Châtellerault.

[2] Saint-Priest, *Études historiques sur le dix-huitième siècle; la perte de l'Inde sous Louis XV.* This study, brilliantly written, leaves something to be desired as to exactness of details; but the author has been inspired by a laudable idea, — the rehabilitation of a great man unrecognized and calumniated.

[3] A first time sent to Chandernagore, he had been recalled, owing to the enmity of the director of Pondicherry, M. Lenoir (1726). He addressed to the company a memorial on the future of Chandernagore and the plan to be pursued in Indian affairs. This was the first revelation of his genius. The company restored to him the direction of Chandernagore (September, 1730).

sult that would proceed from the contact between the stationary communities of the East and the progressive communities of the West, the strength of which increases in proportion to their velocity of motion, by a law wholly analogous to the law of physical gravitation. He saw Asia destined, like America, like the whole world, to submit to the rule of the European races. The recent invasion of Nadir Shah (1738–1739)[1] had manifested the weakness of the Mogul Empire, already revealed by the revolt of the Mahrattas at the south and of the Afghans and Sikhs at the north, and by the insubordination of the governors of the provinces (subahdars and nabobs), who were tending to erect themselves into great irremovable vassals. Dupleix judged India destined to be conquered, not by other Asiatics, like those that had just ravaged it, but by Europeans. Among the Europeans, Portugal had fallen to decay. Holland was declining: there remained France and England. Dupleix resolved to give India to France.

He opened his mind by degrees to the company, in proportion to his progress, and rose himself only by degrees to this great conception. His plan was as prudent in the means as daring in the aim. The most important means was to interfere in the political hierarchy of India through a double character: namely, to remain, on the one hand, the head of a foreign and independent colony; and, on the other, to become the feudatory of the Great Mogul, and to interfere in all the internal affairs of India in order to seize upon or give rise to opportunities for aggrandizement.[2] An auxiliary of brilliant mind and courage lent him the most useful coöperation,—his wife, Jeanne Albert, the daughter of a Parisian

[1] The Shah of Persia had dispersed the immense but confused army of the Grand Mogul; pillaged and laid waste with fire and sword the capital of India, Delhi; carried off the imperial treasure, which was worth more than a billion; and extorted from the Mogul the cession of the provinces on the west of the Indus, with a tribute of seventy millions a year. The revenue of the Mogul Empire amounted to eight hundred millions.—See Barchon de Penhoën, *Hist. de la Fondation de l'empire anglais dans l'Inde*, t. I. p. 332. The English levy there at the present time more than five hundred millions.

[2] The political point of view and the commercial point of view were necessarily confounded here; and it was under this form that Dupleix summed up his idea to the company: "India being a gulf that swallows up the money of Europe, the possession there of lands producing large tributes, and of manufactories on these lands, would give the company, which does not always send money thither regularly and in sufficient quantity, the means of carrying on, without money from Europe, a trade that would become more and more considerable in proportion as these settlements increased. In case of competition, it would have the advantage of procuring merchandise at the lowest price; and, if it had no rivals, its profits would be enormous."—Note of M. P. Margry.

physician and a Portuguese Creole by the name of Castro. Familiar with all the Hindostanee dialects, she kept up an extensive diplomatic correspondence, on her husband's account, with all the native personages who could serve the projects of Dupleix; and rendered herself celebrated throughout India under the name of Jàn or Joanna Begum (the Princess Jeanne).

The centre of action imposed on Dupleix by the company was ill chosen in a commercial point of view; Pondicherry having neither a harbor nor markets of importance; and the two great commercial regions of Hindostan being the coast of Malabar and Bengal, and not the coast of Coromandel. In a political point of view, this position, on the contrary, had great advantages. He could hope to rule the Mogul nabobs and the Hindoo rajahs, who shared the south-eastern extremity of the Indian peninsula, through each other, and to create there, under the shelter of the Great Mogul himself, a great territorial establishment, which it would have been premature to attempt at Bengal, too near the centre of the Empire; and which would have been impossible at Malabar, a narrow belt shut in between the sea and the mountains swarming with the warlike Mahratta tribes. To extend the territorial possesssions in Coromandel; to maintain himself in Bengal; to revive the French power in Malabar, whither the ancient company, under Colbert, had formerly directed its efforts, and where French commerce had since been suffered to decline; and to ally his interests with those of the Mahrattas, the most firmly rooted power among the natives, and with those of all the Europeans, the Dutch, Portuguese, and Danes, in order to have his hands free against his sole rivals, the English, — such were the first views of Dupleix.[1]

La Bourdonnais had not such high aims: his whole plan consisted in destroying the English settlements and marine by dint of armed force, and in vigorously developing French commerce; making the Isle of France the entrepôt for this commerce between India and Europe. This opposition between the views of two men equally energetic, but not equally profound, was destined to result in fatal consequences.

They had at first agreed, at least, in judging the maritime neutrality of India impossible. Dupleix negotiated, nevertheless, in obedience to the company, meanwhile completing *at his own expense* the fortifications of Pondicherry, for which funds had been refused him. The English presidencies of India[2] accepted neu-

[1] See Anquetil-du-Perron, *l' Inde en rapport avec l'Europe*, t. II. p. 41.

[2] The English colonies were not centralized like ours: they were divided into four

trality for their company, but declared themselves without powers as to the royal navy. This was a snare. The French royal navy had not a ship in Asia: the English admiralty despatched thither a small squadron, that executed the precise project which La Bourdonnais had proposed to the ministers in 1741, and captured all our vessels which it encountered between India and China; then returned to threaten Pondicherry, which the English Governor of Madras was preparing to besiege by land (July, 1745). The garrison was very weak; but the effects of Dupleix's diplomacy were beginning to be visible. The nabob of the Carnatic, the province in which Pondicherry and Madras are situated, declared that he should attack Madras if the English attacked Pondicherry. The English permitted that neutrality to be imposed on them on land which they had rejected on the sea.

La Bourdonnais, meanwhile, was pining with regret and anger in his islands. He did not receive, until the beginning of 1746, the reënforcements from Europe indispensable for action. At last, March 24, he was able to set sail with nine of the company's vessels, which he had succeeded in fitting out for war. A furious tornado drove his squadron, shattered and disabled, into the Bay of Anton Gil (Madagascar). He newly rigged and repaired it on the spot in forty-eight days, by dint of energy and ingenious inventions. July 6, he was in sight of the English squadron on the coast of Coromandel. The English had only six sail against nine; but their ships belonged to the royal navy, and were greatly superior in tonnage, the quality of the crew, and the caliber of the guns. After a warm engagement, the English retired to Ceylon. La Bourdonnais arrived victorious at Pondicherry, and there found himself in the presence of Dupleix. Two opposite systems; two authorities independent of each other, with ill-defined limits; two characters equally proud and absolute, the one hasty and rancorous, the other concentrated, profound, and inflexible,—this was more than was needed to raise up inevitable contention; but it was nothing in comparison with the outside influences. The ministers and the company had done every thing to render conciliation impossible. They had at once conferred on La Bourdonnais powers which seemed to authorize him to take the lead in military operations, and invested Dupleix with a sort of dictatorship, by secretly permitting him to act independently of the control of the superior council of India: they had

presidencies, — Bombay, Madras, the most important, Calcutta, and Banca (the Sunda Islands).

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LXXXI

MADRAS

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at once forbidden La Bourdonnais to keep the factories of the enemy which he might seize, and enjoined on Dupleix to take possession of Madras, if he could render himself master of it, and to cede this English colony to the nabob of the Carnatic. Lastly, La Bourdonnais had been designated by the Comptroller-General as the eventual successor of Dupleix, and the latter knew it. These two men, therefore, whose harmony would have given us Asia, were enemies from the day they met.

After two months wasted in wrangling, reciprocal distrust, and fruitless efforts to overtake the English squadron, La Bourdonnais determined on the siege of Madras. Two thousand soldiers, landed from the squadron, assailed a town of a hundred thousand souls, furnished with two hundred pieces of cannon, but badly fortified through the niggardliness of the English Company, which had not hitherto shown more political foresight than the French Company. The English governor had believed that the nabob of the Carnatic would intervene in the name of the neutrality which he had guaranteed; but the latter, apprised that Madras would be ceded to him, did not stir. The English, few in numbers among a mass of inert Hindoos, were dismayed, and surrendered almost without resistance (September 15–21, 1746). La Bourdonnais exacted that they should become prisoners of war, and that all the personal property, whether of the English Company or of private individuals, should be given up to the French; but he promised that the town should then be restored to the English, and the prisoners liberated, in consideration of a ransom of about nine millions. He thought himself rendering a great service to the company by securing to it a booty of thirteen or fourteen millions, besides the share of the soldiers and sailors, and that which he took for himself. This was not the intention of Dupleix. Having been unable to prevent the capitulation, he attempted to force La Bourdonnais to break it, and signified to him that he had exceeded his powers, and that Madras would not be surrendered to the English. La Bourdonnais replied that he was the master of his conquest, that he had executed his instructions, and that he should keep his word. The quarrel reached such a pass, that the superior council, over which Dupleix presided, sought, it is said, to arrest and carry off La Bourdonnais from Madras, and that La Bourdonnais arrested the officers of the council. They, nevertheless, resumed negotiations; but, while La Bourdonnais was insisting on remaining at Madras until the affair was settled, the semi-annual epoch of the north wind (mon-

soon) arrived,—a season, the beginning of which is very dangerous to vessels on this coast, destitute of ports and havens. On the night of October 13–14, a terrible hurricane sunk two of La Bourdonnais' ships, with all on board, and dismasted the rest. It was the shipwreck of his fortune. The unhappy mariner at last resigned himself to the necessity of quitting India at the end of October, and carried back to the Isle of France those of his ships that were seaworthy.

He found a successor already installed in his islands. The company punished him for mistakes that were to be imputed to itself and the ministers much more than to him,—a presage far from reassuring to the rival to whom he seemed sacrificed, and who had no reason to expect greater justice. He determined to return to France in order to justify himself; and sailed for the West Indies, and thence for Europe, in disguise, in a Dutch vessel. The ship put in at England, and La Bourdonnais was recognized, and seized as a prisoner of war. He knew that judicial proceedings were commenced against him at Paris, and obtained permission from the English government to return to France on parole: he had scarcely arrived, when he was thrown into the Bastille (March 6, 1748). The old rancor that was brooding against him in the bureaus of the company had united with the denunciations that came from Pondicherry. He was kept more than two years in close confinement.[1] It was not until the third year of his imprisonment that he was able to obtain a hearing. This was attended with complete success. The charge of treason was found untenable; and that of disobedience fell to the ground before the ministerial instructions which he exhibited. He was acquitted amidst universal applause (1751); but his health was ruined by captivity: his brother and his best friend, involved in his suit, had died in irons; and the company, sustained by ministerial arbitrariness, disputed with him the wrecks of his fortune. He died, undermined by grief, November 10, 1753. All France mourned for him, without knowing the true cause of his misfortunes; and the disfavor that was reflected on Dupleix, presented as a selfish and jealous rival, paved the way for a second and greater victim.[2]

[1] He wrote his Memoirs during this time with verdigris and coffee-grounds, upon white handkerchiefs starched with rice, and dried by the fire.

[2] *Mém. de La Bourdonnais;* Saint-Priest; L. Guérin, t. II. ch. vii.; Barchou de Penhoën, *Hist. de la Fondation de l'empire anglais dans l'Inde,* t. I. liv. iv. This accusation of malevolence and jealousy was so ill founded, that La Bourdonnais, after his acquittal,

Dupleix was first to have more than one day of splendor. Immediately after the departure of La Bourdonnais, the nabob of the Carnatic had summoned the French to deliver Madras to him. Such was not Dupleix's intention. The nabob, not obtaining a satisfactory reply, sent his son, with ten thousand men, to besiege the town. A few hundred Frenchmen utterly routed this body of troops. It was the first time that the Europeans had come to an open rupture with the Moguls, till then respected by all the colonists as the masters of India. The moral effect was great. Dupleix pursued his designs. He declared the capitulation of Madras void, expelled the English colonists, invited the merchants and artisans of the different Eastern races that dwelt at Madras to settle at Pondicherry, razed the native town, and increased the fortifications of the English town.[1] He next sought to complete the expulsion of the English from the Carnatic. The nabob came to the aid of the English fort of St. David (or Gondelore), and the Moguls and English, united, succeeded in repelling the attack. Dupleix gained over the nabob anew by negotiations and money; but the return of the English squadron reënforced compelled him the second time to raise the siege of St. David (December, 1746–March, 1747).

The naval inferiority was the principal cause that arrested the progress of Dupleix. The royal French navy did not make its appearance in the East Indies. The year 1747 witnessed the consummation of its ruin in other latitudes, and its numerical weakness finished the work commenced by the incapacity of its court admirals. In the month of May, the Commodore La Jonquière, charged with escorting a rich merchant convoy with five ships of the line, was encountered, off Cape Finisterre (Galicia), by sixteen English ships of the line, commanded by Admiral Anson. He saved the greater part of the merchant-fleet by the obstinacy of his resistance, but was forced to surrender with his men-of-war, and seven of the company's vessels that had taken part in the action. A few weeks after, a merchant-fleet of forty ships, on the

having fitted out a vessel for the East-India trade, Dupleix gave him every facility for the success of his enterprise. "I received it, not as the vessel of *an enemy that is seeking only to destroy me,* but as if it had belonged to my brother."—Letter from Dupleix, transmitted to us by M. P. Margry, from the Dupleix family papers. Unhappily, the accusations of Dupleix were better founded than those of his rival; and La Bourdonnais did immense evil before his death by the prejudices against Dupleix and his projects that he diffused among the bureaus of the ministry and the company.

[1] All the colonial towns of India were divided into the *white* or European, and the *black* or native towns.

way from St. Domingo, was taken by the English on this same coast of Galicia. In the course of October, a new battle took place, almost in the same spot, and under the same circumstances, as that of May. The Commodore L'Estenduere, while escorting, with eight ships of the line, two hundred and fifty-two merchant vessels, was attacked by Admiral Hawke at the head of twenty-three ships. L'Estenduere was not braver, but a little less unfortunate, than La Jonquière. He saved his whole convoy, lost six of his men-of-war, and opened for himself a glorious retreat with the last two, thanks to the devotion of a captain, who, unable to gain the offing, had come to join his leader through the enemy's fleet, to save him or perish with him.[1]

The masters of the seas, the English prepared to avenge their insults in India. From 1747 to 1748, they despatched thither forces such as Europe had not yet shown in the Upper East. Admiral Boscawen, perceiving the impossibility of attacking the Isle of France, although bereft of La Bourdonnais, presented himself on the coast of Coromandel in the beginning of August, 1748, with thirty armed vessels, thirteen of which were large ships; and landed there a large body of soldiers and sailors practised in arms. From four to five thousand Europeans, and numerous native bands, roused to insurrection by the English, marched on Pondicherry. Dupleix was in a position to give them a good reception, at the head of fourteen hundred French and two thousand sepoys, or Indians of the warrior caste, organized in the European manner. This was again one of the creations of his genius: he had comprehended what advantage a European conqueror could derive from the bravery and docility of the Kshatriyas, the only warlike element preserved amidst the enervated races. Paradis, the officer who had contributed the most to the capture of Madras, having been mortally wounded at the beginning of the siege, Dupleix directed the defence in person, and received a wound. His wife seconded him admirably: she informed herself of all the movements of the enemies through the numerous native agents that she kept, even in their camp; and braved every danger at his side, cheering officers and soldiers by speeches "worthy of ancient Rome." A shell burst four paces from her. These generous efforts were crowned with success. The attacks on the land side were repulsed with great loss. The bombardment on the side of the sea succeeded no better. The monsoon from the north, so fatal lately to La Bourdonnais, came on, and obliged the enemy's fleet to retreat.

1 Sainte-Croix, t. II. p. 214; Smollett, continuation of Hume, liv. xx.

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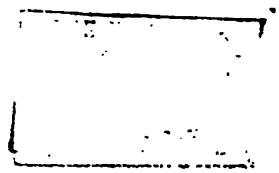
ADMIRAL LORD HAWKE.

OB. 1781.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY COTES IN

THE NAVAL GALLERY AT GREENWICH HOSPITAL.



The siege was raised October 18, but too late. Several of the English vessels perished as those of La Bourdonnais had done.

All India resounded with this great repulse of the English. The nabobs of the peninsula, the subahdar (viceroy) of the Deccan, and their suzerain, the Grand Mogul himself, congratulated the conqueror: the ascendency of Dupleix prevailed over him. The successful defender of Pondicherry could labor thenceforth, with as much genius as perseverance, to secure for himself a territorial base which would shelter him, as far as possible, from the chances of maritime war.[1]

We must now return to Europe, and see how that France was directed there, whose honor was so energetically sustained at the other end of the world.

The opportunity had been lost, at the beginning of 1746, of making peace, or at least of withdrawing Holland from the coalition. In the month of September of the same year, conferences were opened at Breda between France, England, and Holland. The burgher patriciate which governed Holland, and which felt itself more and more menaced by the stadtholder faction, in proportion as the French arms approached the United Provinces, sincerely desired peace: Louis XV., and especially his mistress, already very powerful, were strongly inclined to it. It was not so with the English: their envoy was unwilling to enter earnestly into any discussion until the Austrian and Piedmontese ministers had been summoned to the congress. It seemed natural that the English should not negotiate without their ally, Austria: nevertheless, the only means of agreeing on preliminaries would have been to negotiate them without Austria and Spain. This difficulty arrested every thing; and, April 17, 1747, a royal declaration announced that, to arrest or prevent the effects of the protection granted by the States-General to the troops of the Queen of Hungary and the King of England, the King of France found himself obliged to cause his army to enter the territory of the republic, "without breaking with it;" that his troops would preserve the most rigorous discipline; and that the places and provinces occupied would be restored to the United Provinces as soon as they gave proof that they had ceased to succor the enemies of the crown of France.[2]

[1] Notes communicated by M. P. Margry from the Dupleix family papers. — *Mém. de La Bourdonnais*; Saint-Priest; Sainte-Croix, t. II. p. 231; Barchou de Penhoën, t. I. liv. iv.

[2] Flassan, t. V. p. 373.

A hundred and twenty thousand soldiers had been placed under the command of Maurice de Saxe. On the same day that the royal declaration appeared, Count Lowendahl, with a large body detached from this army, threw himself upon Dutch Flanders. Sluys, Yzendyke, the Sasse of Ghent, the forts of Philippine, Pearl, and Liefkenshoek, Hulst, Axel, Sandberg, all those fortresses before which the armies of Spain had formerly been shattered, and which had arrested Vauban himself, fell in less than a month. Out of repairs, and insufficiently garrisoned (the greater part of the troops of the republic had been taken by the French in the places of the Austrian Netherlands), they could not be succored by the numerous army of the allies which had assembled in Dutch Brabant, but which was held in check by the Marshal de Saxe.[1] An English squadron alone aided the weak fleet of the United Provinces in preventing the landing of the French in Zealand.

The political reaction of these military successes justified the opposition that had always been made by the Marquis d'Argenson to every plan of an attack on Holland. The old Stadtholder party, supported and instigated by the intrigues and gold of England, renewed the scenes of 1672. The people, carried away by their memories and by the instinct of concentration of power in the presence of invasion, rose in favor of the younger branch of the Nassaus, and forced the municipal corps, then the Provincial States, to proclaim Stadtholder, Admiral, and Captain-General of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overyssel, the Prince of Orange, William IV., the head of the branch of Nassau Dietz, and the son-in-law of George II. He was the hereditary Stadtholder of Friesland, an office that had been in his branch from the time when the eldest branch governed the other provinces; and he had been elected Stadtholder of Groningen and Gelderland several years before, which had commenced the counter revolution (April 23–May 11). A few months after (October 23), the stadtholdership and the two great military posts were declared hereditary even in the female line; the daughters of the Nassaus being empowered to exercise the functions through their husbands, on condition that they married neither kings nor electors. The species of constitutional monarchy founded in favor of the Nassaus, under the name

[1] The military historians point out the good service, in these sieges, of the battalions of grenadiers that had been taken from the militia since 1745. The soldiers due to this species of recruital, however deteriorated it might have been by numerous abuses, speedily became a very valorous infantry. — See D'Espagnac, *Hist. du maréchal de Saxe*, t. II. p. 321.

of republic, replaced a first time, in 1650, by the burgher republic, reëstablished in 1672, and abolished anew in 1703, was thus revived, to endure for a lapse of time nearly equal to that of its second abolition. Holland was destined to be long absorbed by England, of which William IV. and his family were no longer any thing but the satellites. There had been this time no John De Witt to massacre: the patricians of the burgher republic were greatly degenerated; but a William III. was still lacking. Every thing was declining in the government of Holland as in that of France; but in Holland it was not only the government, but the nation, that had deteriorated. The municipal aristocracy had not succeeded in doing any thing either to sustain the power which they had reconquered, or to attach the people to political liberty; but the new stadtholders fell far below the burgher government.[1]

The Dutch nation had deluded itself: the accession of a prince devoid of talent and initiative to the direction of the United Provinces brought no new force to the allies. The French kept the offensive, although the allies were at least their equals in numbers, owing to the efforts and the enormous expenditures of England. Louis XV., at the beginning of June, rejoined the Marshal de Saxe, whom he had created marshal-general of the French armies,

[1] The economical causes of the decline of Holland merit some observations. The manufactures of Holland had declined through the increase of the taxes, which had raised the price of provisions, caused the desertion of the workmen, whose wages did not increase in proportion, and, above all, raised the price of merchandise, which could no longer support the foreign competition. The herring-fishery had diminished one-half; and its profits, which had formerly founded the sumptuous Amsterdam, were reduced almost to nothing: it was the same with the whale-fishery. The shipping-merchants fared no better, because they were at the same time merchants of rigging and munitions, and because the interest on money was extremely low. Holland was no longer the universal entrepôt, the intermediate agent, of other nations. The Swedes, the Danes, the Hamburghers most of all, took away from it part of the freight of Europe. The diminution of the profits of commerce by competition, moreover, caused the seller to seek to dispense with an intermediate agent. The duties in the ports of Holland kept away foreign vessels. Holland had ceased to hold the almost entire monopoly of maritime insurance: each nation had its own. The enormous capital accumulated in the United Provinces, no longer finding any use, even at very low interest, had flowed to foreign countries. From the brokers of the world, the Dutch had become the money-lenders: they had sixteen hundred millions invested in England, France, Austria, Saxony, Denmark, and Russia; and, the greatest part of the capital having been directed at first to England, this had not been one of the least reasons of the subjugation of the Dutch by the English; the creditor finding himself at the discretion of the debtor in case of war, as Saint-Simon well observes. In short, private individuals were very wealthy: the State was no longer so. — See Rainal, *Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes*, t. III. p. 310, *et seq.*, quarto edition, 1786. The maritime fortune of England, which dethroned Holland, was thus built up in part with Dutch money.

a title borne formerly by Turenne, then by Villars. The master of all the country on the left of the Scheldt, Maurice determined to attack the great stronghold of the Lower Meuse, Maestricht, and marched his army in that direction: the enemies moved between the sources of the Demer and Maestricht. July 2, Maurice assailed them in a position almost similar to that in which he had defeated them the year before near Liege. They occupied a succession of plateaus, from the Meuse and the Jaar to the Demer, and rested on several villages. The key of the position was the village of Lawfeld. Lawfeld was carried after six murderous assaults, and the villages were evacuated; but Maurice did not attain his end, which was to cut off the communications of the enemies with Maestricht. The vigorous charges of the Hanoverian cavalry, which had finally been broken and overpowered, had given the Duke of Cumberland time to effect his retreat with the main body of the army, and to recross the Meuse. It was the repetition of Raucoux. The enemies had lost from nine to ten thousand men, and the French from five to six thousand. The victory was not, therefore, sufficiently complete to render possible the siege of Maestricht. Maurice indemnified himself by sending Lowendahl to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom in his rear. This place, the masterpiece of Cohorn, which commands the eastern mouth of the Scheldt, was reputed impregnable; and its strong garrisons had communications secured by water with a large body that was hastening to its aid. Neither the vigorous resistance of an army unceasingly revictualled, nor the sickness caused among the besiegers by the marshes of the Lower Scheldt, discouraged Lowendahl. He could not hope to reduce the place by famine: he carried it by assault by three breaches which the governor believed impracticable. As before, at the taking of Valenciennes, the French soldiers rushed with impetuosity from work to work to the heart of the city (September 16). Unhappily, the horrors formerly customary in towns taken by storm sullied this brilliant success: the French armies in this war had hitherto left the monopoly of this barbarity to the savage hordes of Austria.

The King set out for Versailles, September 23, after renewing to the States-General his assurances of consenting to a reasonable peace. There was still a minister at the Hague, war not being absolutely declared by the singular signification that had preceded the campaign. Maurice de Saxe had, on his side, intrusted to General Ligonier,[1] taken at Lawfeld, at the head of the English

[1] The son of a French refugee.

cavalry, and sent back on parole, a memorial from the Minister Puisieux, offering to surrender all the conquests of the King, with the reservation of Furnes to cover our frontier, left open by the dismantling of Dunkirk. Louis XV. had sufficient glory. It was agreed to open a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The war had been waged fiercely in Liguria and the Alps during this campaign. Maria Theresa breathed nought but vengeance against the Genoese; and England gave the Austro-Piedmontese £300,000 for the siege of Genoa. Two months after the evacuation of Provence, an Austrian army corps again forced the passage of the Apennines; and the courageous city was besieged by land and sea (April, 1747). A brave and able general, the son of the Marshal de Boufflers, six thousand French soldiers, and a subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand francs a month, insured the duration of the defence. Spain had sent a few soldiers, a few munitions, and many promises. The government of Ferdinand VI., destitute of money, and without any other resource than twenty thousand men that it could no longer recruit, had ordered its general to spare his troops to such a point, that, to use the expression of the French, the Spanish army "was of no more use than if it had been made of pasteboard." Despite the little assistance that he derived from the Spaniards, the Marshal de Belle-Isle retook the county of Nice from the Piedmontese (June 5). The Franco-Spaniards threatened to return to Piedmont. The King of Sardinia recalled his troops from Liguria, and urged his allies to aid him in protecting his States. The siege of Genoa was raised. France had repaid Genoa for the service that she had received; and Boufflers had not only defended Genoa, but had pacified it by interposing himself between the populace exalted by their triumph, and the higher classes, too great strangers to the deliverance of their country. It was not, like degenerate Holland, by the sacrifice of their liberty that the noble people of Genoa thought to save their independence from foreign powers. Boufflers, at which we cannot be astonished, inclined somewhat more than was reasonable to the side of the aristocracy.

Genoa saved, the point in question was to resume the offensive against Piedmont. The Spanish general, Las Minas, wished the attack to be made by the way of Liguria; Belle-Isle, by that of Dauphiny. After much wrangling, it was decided to make the descent by the way of Upper Dauphiny. While Las Minas harassed the enemy by the road to Corniche (Liguria), and the Marshal de Belle-Isle menaced the passes of the Stura, the Chevalier

de Belle-Isle, the brother of the Marshal, set out from Briançon with a third corps, and entered the inaccessible mountains that separate the valley of the Little Dora from that of the Chiusone. He wished to pass between the fortresses of Exilles and Fenestrelle, and to debouch by the wildest gorges of the Alps in the valley of the Sangoni, which leads to Turin. He was arrested at the Col de l'Assiette by an intrenchment of dry stone and wood, defended by a Piedmontese corps. Unable either to turn or to command the position, he attacked it in front with blind impetuosity: for two hours, the French endured a shower of grape-shot and bullets muzzle to muzzle with the enemy's muskets, without succeeding in overcoming an obstacle that heavy artillery alone could have overthrown. The Chevalier de Belle-Isle, in despair, met his death while planting a flag on the Piedmontese intrenchments. More than five thousand French, dead or wounded, strewed this fatal defile (July 19). The Chevalier de Belle-Isle had shared equally in all the projects and visions of his brother, and had contributed as much as he to this war in which he was to perish.

This unfortunate attempt to cross the Alps was not renewed: but the Duke de Richelieu was sent to Genoa with reënforcements that increased the French auxiliary corps to at least fifteen thousand men (the end of September); and the Franco-Genoese reappeared at the north of the Apennines, in the rear of the Austro-Piedmontese army.

Negotiations were entered upon during the winter, but with little sincerity on the part of the allies, who, full of contempt for the moderation or weakness of Louis XV., judged that he would still be too happy to restore his conquests, should they be reduced to the necessity of accepting them from his hand. The savage obstinacy that Maria Theresa took for magnanimity, and the hatred of George II. for France, fettered every thing. The hope of important aid rendered them still more obdurate. Russia determined to intervene; and the King of England obtained from the Czarina Elizabeth the promise to hold thirty-seven thousand foot at his disposal, in consideration of a trifling subsidy of £100,000 (June–November, 1747–February, 1748). As early as the month of February, the Austrians recommenced attacks on the Genoese territory, which were warmly repulsed by Richelieu.

"Sire," Maurice de Saxe had said to Louis XV., "peace is in Maestricht." This great stronghold of the Dutch would, in falling, deliver up the Lower Meuse and the entrance to the United

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Provinces on the side where England could not succor them. The military administration, and the organization of the intendants, had again become excellent under the ministry of the Count d'Argenson, chiefly through the impulse of that aged Pâris Duvernei whom we have seen prime minister in fact under the ministry of *Monsieur le Duc*, and who had resumed a certain influence in the practical management of public affairs. Vast preparations were completed in good time; and, April 13, two armies that had marched along both banks of the Meuse, feigning to menace Breda, invested Maestricht, without the allies being able to oppose them.

This news produced a lively impression upon the congress assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle. The public funds had been falling greatly for some time in England; agitation was beginning to prevail in this country, which alone kept up the war; and the pompous spectacle of all those wagons, laden with gold, silver, and costly articles, that from time to time conveyed through London the prizes taken from the commerce of France and Spain, was ceasing to make the public forget the weight of the taxes, which amounted to at least £9,000,000 for the year. The ministers who had replaced the fiery Carteret, the brothers Pelham, were less warlike than the King, and had induced him to give to the English plenipotentiary instructions that rendered peace possible in certain contingencies. The plenipotentiary, Lord Sandwich, judged that the contingency had come; and, in concert with the Dutch ambassador, transmitted to the Count de Saint-Séverin, the plenipotentiary of France, a plan that appeared acceptable (April 26). The preliminaries of peace were signed, April 30, between France, England, and Holland, without waiting for the signature of the envoys of Austria and Spain: it was the only means of arriving at a result. The principal conditions were the restitution of the respective conquests; the cession of the Duchy of Parma by Maria Theresa to the Infant, Don Philip; the maintenance to the kings of Prussia and Sardinia of what had been ceded to them by Austria; the renewal of the assent given to the Pragmatic Sanction with respect to all the rest of the inheritance of Charles VI.; the restitution to England of the negro-slave trade (*assiento*), and of the *privileged vessel* to the Spanish colonies for four years; the recognition of the Emperor Francis I. by France and Spain; the preservation of the fortifications rebuilt at Dunkirk during the present war on the land side, but the restoration of the place to the footing of the treaty of Utrecht on

CHAPTER V.

THE PHILOSOPHERS.

SECTION I. — Society. Men of Letters. The Fine Arts. The Family. Moral Condition. The Great Nobles and the Church. Massillon. Prophecy of Leibnitz. SECTION II. — Criticism. Erudition. Historical Systems. Moral and Political Sciences. Fréret. Boulainvilliers. Dubos. *The Club of the Entresol.* The Abbé de Saint-Pierre. D'Argenson. *Considerations on the Government of France.* Philosophy and Letters. VOLTAIRE. His Plays. Montesquieu. Persian Letters. *The Henriade.* Voltaire in England. He brings back to France Sensualism and Newtonianism. His Inconsistent Deism. His Tolerance. His Historical Works. Scientific Voyages. La Condamine, Maupertuis, etc. THE EARTH MEASURED. Bordeu. *Vitalism. Freemasonry.* Vauvenargues. *Spirit of Laws.*

1715–1750.

SECTION I. — SOCIETY. MORAL CONDITION.

IN following the course of events in the period that elapsed between the death of Louis XIV. and the peace of 1748, we have already met many revelations concerning the moral and intellectual condition of that society which had experienced so profound a transformation in half a century. This constitutes the great interest for us during the rest of this history. The government and all the institutions, all the official beliefs, continuing more and more to deteriorate and become decomposed, it is above all important to penetrate, through the external accidents, to the inmost and the most general signs of this decomposition, and to discern among the symptoms of death the germs of a new life. Between the roots of the old social tree that was withering, the eighteenth century was sowing good wheat and tares confusedly, and often by the same hand, which the nineteenth century, itself so confused and obscure, has not yet known how to separate. It is the duty of the historian to point out, in proportion to their manifestation in the national life, the principles, some salutary, others fatal, which have made us what we are. The task undertaken in this book stops at the day when these principles, transferred from the

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sphere of ideas into that of facts, overthrew ancient society and inaugurated the new world.

We have attempted elsewhere to analyze the principal elements of the genius of France:[1] we have seemed to see France, from the Gauls to our days, vibrating between sentiment and the critical spirit as between two poles. From this arises, so to speak, the great *contradictoriness* of the national character. We mean, by the critical spirit, the negative principle contained in common sense or practical reason; that essentially French faculty, which, according as it proceeds by affirmation or negation, is the sagacious auxiliary or the dangerous adversary, and at times the useful curb, of sentiment. Sentiment, in our history, gave birth to the crusades, to the religious art of the Middle Ages, to amorous and chivalrous poetry, and also to the mysterious popular inspirations of the *religion of the Holy Spirit;* then saved us by the incarnation of the genius of France in Jeanne Darc. The critical spirit, which had its origin in certain parts of the literature of the Middle Ages, ascended the throne with the ironical Louis XI.; blended with the opposite principle, sentiment, both in the Christian Reformation and in the naturalistic Renaissance of the sixteenth century; and, finally, broke forth with the scepticism of Montaigne. In the seventeenth century, there was manifested among us a sublime apparition, an unknown goddess, pure reason, whose reign makes this age an age unique in history. This reign, nevertheless, did not emerge from the sphere of the mind; and, again, it abstained from invading two vast domains of this sphere, — the domain of religious ideas and that of political ideas. Spinoza alone penetrated therein, among all the philosophers of pure reason; but contemplative and solitary Pantheism was not of a nature to attract France, the country of action and collective life. The philosophy of pure reason remained incomplete, and unable to descend into the sphere of reality and practical reason. No one among the French people, among the people of sentiment, was inspired to complete reason by sentiment; and the movement of Leibnitz ended in nothing among us, any more than that of Spinoza, — an alarming faltering of the genius of France, which became troubled, and paused, instead of continuing its work.

The world, however, could not pause: it was necessary to advance, it was necessary to shake off the bonds of the past, it was

[1] *De la France, de son génie et de ses destinées;* 1847.

necessary for philosophy to descend from its peaceful abstractions into the arena of real life. France was trembling under the yoke of the old institutions and old traditions, and seeking weapons everywhere. If pure reason did not furnish them, she would demand them elsewhere. Already the critical spirit had sounded the charge with the great sceptic Bayle. This was not enough: a doctrine was needed. Sensualism had one in a foreign country: in England, a metaphysical doctrine blended accidentally with a doctrine of political reform. France would go to England in search of sensualism, as, in the sixteenth century, she had gone to Germany in search of Protestanism, but this time with a greater and more profound success.

This was because society was ready prepared for it, and because there were no longer great resisting forces in reserve, as against the Protestant Reformation. Practical sensualism had preceded philosophical sensualism. Spiritualism had been shaken in point of fact by the licentious reaction that had broken forth against the devotion and rigidity of Louis XIV. Cartesianism, Jansenism, and Jesuitism, — these three rivals, among whom the seventeenth century had been divided, were threatened simultaneously. Severe metaphysical dogmatism, the asceticism of sincere devotion, and the hypocrisy of political devotion, were equally antipathetic to the new generation, which would keep the method of Descartes, as an instrument of criticism and analysis, while divesting it of the crown of its first virtues, and depriving it of the principle which made it royal, in order to make it the servant of sensualism.

Let us now descend from these heights, more closely to survey this society over which we have just hovered with rapid flight, and glance at ideas and manners, and at the literature and arts which reflected and reacted upon them.

After the mad intoxication of the Regency, the disorder had become calmed and regulated, so to speak. Orgie-like license had passed away like hypocritical strictness; society had become settled in its new manners, — new by the frankness with which it avowed what remained partially veiled in obscurity in the time of the Great King. Refined voluptuousness gained the ground lost by gross debauchery. Instead of the delirium of the senses, an elegant and polished, subtle and reasoning sensualism reigned. A keen, sprightly, and volatile wit replaced the wit of mad sallies, the wit of the Regency. Life became more and more external; the need of multiplying relations, the interchange of ideas, impressions, and sensations, ruled every thing; and the sociability which has always

signalized the French character extended beyond all bounds. Never had society been so brilliant, so full of grace and attraction. Conversation was sparkling: less copious and less serious than in the last century, it was no longer instructive, but it was charming, dazzling, and fascinating. The admiration expressed in his familiar letters by a foreigner, the most witty man in England, Chesterfield, shows how far French society of this time had the superiority over the rest of Europe in manners, language, taste, and distinction of every kind. French education was finished in these respects; but every thing therein was sacrificed to the art of pleasing, and nothing to that of deserving. Sagacity and accuracy, therefore, were oftenest on the surface, and frivolity at the bottom. The so much vaunted taste was over-refined and deteriorated by subtlety, and by the necessity of amusing at any price if one wished to please. Thence arose the deplorable fashion of *persiflage*. To amuse being the highest aim, and malignity being more piquant than kindliness, ill-nature was reduced to an art, and the *méchant* became a type. Ill-nature, moreover, was superficial like all else, and was little more, in general, than malice and selfish frivolity. This selfishness, which avowed, without circumlocution, its contempt for private ties,[1] the family, and friendship, was oftenest associated, by strange contrast, with a display of philanthropy towards mankind in general, which was not devoid of sincerity. The reason of this was, that selfishness and humanity sometimes proceeded here from the same cause,—the mobility and multiplicity of the relations which brought men in contact with every thing and every one, and which prevented the birth of strong private affections, or stifled them, at the same time that it disposed men to a certain collective benevolence. Among a people as sympathetic as ours, the principle of affection could not but find its place somewhere.

In short, the excessive growth of sociability had been effected at the expense of the family spirit, and of solid and necessary relations: life had lost in depth what it had gained in surface. The moral sense had become greatly weakened in the higher and lettered classes. That haughty reservation of personal dignity, styled

[1] I am weary of kindred; these ties, these chains,
Of men whose faults or sorrows we share:
All these are prejudices, annoyances of old times;
Kindred, in short, is for the people.
. . . . . each one for himself.

GRESSET, *Le Méchant.*

honor, took the place of virtue and duty among men; and honor itself suffered numberless eclipses: all strength became deteriorated in this enervating atmosphere.[1]

The different classes of *polite* society were modified by each other, and mixed together much more than they had hitherto done. The men of letters were the most active agents in this blending. They had been for a moment involved in politics under the Regency. The Regent, the Duchess du Maine, and, above all, Dubois, had employed them in clothing base deeds in fine words.[2] The government, under Fleuri, seeking nothing but silence, had not continued to make use of men who sought noise and renown above all else: it had not, moreover, felt strong enough to retain them long in the state of passive instruments. The men of letters, forsaken by the government, were seized upon by society, which was in pursuit of all kinds of pleasures (those of the intellect like the rest),—of every thing that gave motion and variety to life. As soon as it had relished *the wits*, it could no longer dispense with them: it adopted and enthroned them, on condition of being recompensed by their presence and conversation, even more than their pen. Under Louis XIV., the authors *came* to the court, which was the *world* of that time: they did not *live* there, but generally led a life of study and retirement. Now the *world* surrounded and monopolized them: they lost thereby in knowledge of books and in reflection, and gained in practical knowledge of men and of life. The barriers were broken down, and the opposition became less strongly marked between the nobility of the sword, the law, finance, and literature. The financier prided himself on belles-lettres, aspired to good taste, and went sometimes as far as lofty sentiments:[3] La Popelinière was no longer

[1] "Those who might pretend to the honor of setting an example by their rank or enlightenment appear to have too little respect for principles. The lower classes, having no principle, for want of education, . . . have nothing but imitation for a guide. It is in the middle class that probity is still most in honor."—Duclos, *Considérations sur les Mœurs de ce siècle;* 1751, p. 101.

It is a citizen that eulogizes the *middle class:* nevertheless, this saying on the want of popular education is not lightly uttered. Duclos has an excellent chapter on education.

[2] Fontenelle, Destouches, l'Abbé Dubos, etc.

[3] In 1744, the Comptroller-General Orri having projected the abolition of the duties on the exportation of many kinds of French merchandise, the farmers-general, to whom these duties reverted, offered of themselves to surrender them a year before the expiration of their lease, for the good of commerce.—See Bailli, t. II. p. 123. The salutary influence of the merchants, dating from the epoch of Law, had effected a transformation in the coarse and ignorant revenue-farmers of former times.

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Turcaret. The duke and peer found it piquant to be the friend of a poet. "Wit renders all conditions equal," says Duclos; an *equality* which did not prevent the duke and peer from causing himself to be styled *Monseigneur* by his friend;[1] the ostentation of titles continuing to increase in proportion as real authority and the distinction of rank diminished. It is to be regretted that this kind of equality should have oftenest been that of brilliant vice, and that, while some stooped, the rest did not rise.

The moral supremacy having returned from Versailles to Paris, it is in the principal gathering-places of this capital, the drawing-rooms, the coffee-houses, and the theatres, that the movement of minds is to be studied. The public opinion was formed, and the tone was given, at the houses of the women who made themselves the centres of literary societies, — of Madame de Lambert, Madame de Tencin, Madame du Deffant, and Madame Geoffrin; names strangely coupled. It is a characteristic indication of the laxness and confusion of every thing to be obliged to cite the estimable Madame Lambert[2] by the side of the intriguer and prostitute, Tencin, the unworthy successor of that Ninon, who, at least, had the right to boast of being an *honest man*. The most illustrious writers did not scruple to become intimate with this woman, who adorned her vices with all the graces of the mind. As to the malignant Du Deffant, the former friend of Madame de Prie, and the charming Geoffrin, their drawing-rooms were destined singularly to increase in importance, and to become the centres not only of wit, but of ideas.

The coffee-houses, an innovation introduced from the East under Louis XIV., almost rivalled the drawing-rooms in influence. Of all the importations of this kind that had modified the European regimen since the sixteenth century, the Arabian liquor, which clears and animates the mind instead of confusing it, had been found best suited to the French taste and temperament. As early

[1] See Voltaire's letters to the Duke de Richelieu. Formerly, the term *Monseigneur* was only applied by vassals to their lords, or to the King as the common lord: the princes of the blood themselves were only entitled *Monsieur*. The bishops did not arrogate to themselves until the age of Louis XIV. this title of *Monseigneur*, so contrary to Christian modesty.

[2] Author of moral works as commendable in substance as distinguished in style, — *Avis d'une mère à son fils; Avis d'une mère à sa fille; Traité de l'amitié*, etc. *Her Réflexions sur les femmes*, especially, is a masterpiece of delicacy and moral elevation, to which we shall revert. She should have been the mother of Vauvenargues! She died, at a very advanced age, in 1733.

as the Regency, the coffee-houses disputed the ground with the *cabarets*, so dear to that vinous epoch: there were three hundred of them in Paris. Since that time, they had acquired a decided preponderance, at least in the higher and middle classes; the excess of wine tending to become the fault of the wholly uncultured classes alone. The use of coffee may be numbered among the causes of the profound modification which began to be wrought in the physical organization of the wealthy and lettered classes: the excessive development of the nervous system, which announced itself among women by the frequency of *vapors*, and among men by muscular enervation, proceeded chiefly, however, from moral causes, — from the feverish excitement of the restless indolence in which they lived, and the absence of consistency and serious aim; of any tonic, so to speak, in education and habits.

It was oftenest on quitting the theatre that those encounters between the wits, with weapons keen but not always courteous, which were one day to be celebrated in memoirs and collections of anecdotes, took place in the coffee-houses. The theatre had assumed an importance in social life, which must not be judged by the value of the contemporaneous dramatic works. While many more or less successful novelties were produced, the past, the creations of Louis XIV., were better appreciated, both in France and throughout Europe, than at the time of their appearance: posterity alone can make the definitive classification of masterpieces. The manner of rendering these masterpieces, however, endured a transformation dictated by the spirit of the epoch. The poetic ideal vanishing, while the sentiment of real life became more active and more intense, the melopœia, less strongly accentuated than among the ancients, but still sufficiently marked to impose a sort of lyrical conventionality upon tragedy, was abolished by celebrated actors (Baron in his last years, and Mademoiselle Lecouvreur), who spoke the verses thenceforth, instead of *chanting* them. This substitution of the natural tone for the lyrical tone coincided with the increase of private and college theatricals, which diffused everywhere the talent for declamation, ease, grace, and confidence of manner;[1] while numerous literary societies propagated the taste for French

[1] "To narrate, recite, and declaim well, are serious studies with the French: they never express themselves in a vulgar manner." — Letters of Lord Chesterfield, cxcvii., ccxi., ccxxxvi. The Jesuits, whom Chesterfield warmly admires as great masters *in the art of pleasing*, had been the promoters of the college-theatres: they had gone so far as to introduce opera-dancers for the ballets.

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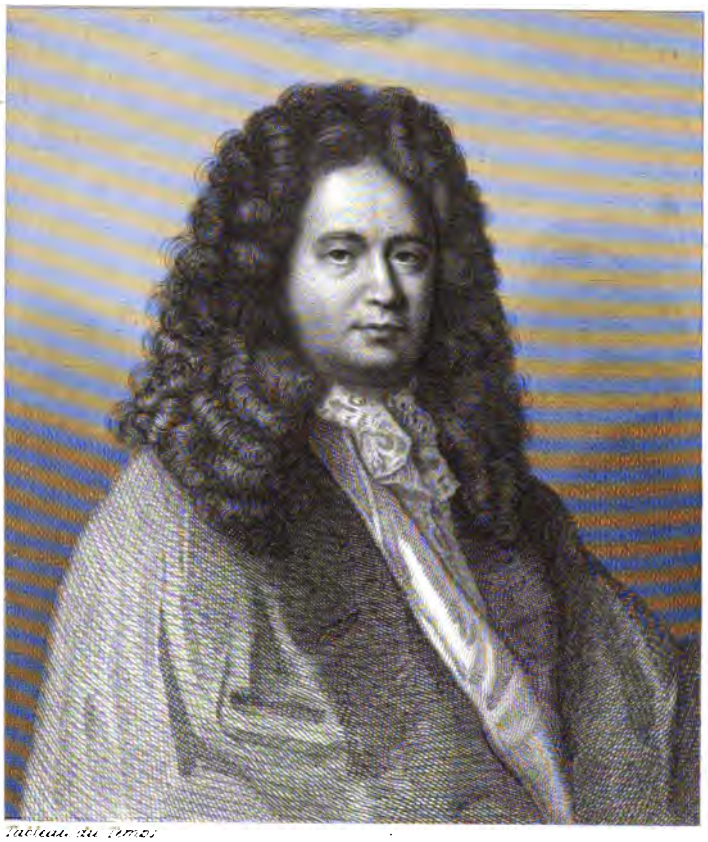

Tableau du Comte

Dastouches (Philippe Néricault)

Poète comique + 1754.

Dessiné par L. Hussard

literature from Paris to the provinces, and from the provinces to foreign countries, invaded by it on all sides.

The times seemed better adapted to comedy than to tragedy: two names of comic authors were destined to survive the Regency and the first years of Fleuri, — Destouches and Marivaux. The first, coldly reasonable, and oftenest diffuse without spirit or humor, would have left few traces, had he not once in his life attained to high character comedy. The *Glorieux* (1732) belongs to history: it is the sequel of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Turcaret*, the famous alliance of the nobility and the financiers represented on the stage. Marivaux, a much more original writer, was the pupil of Fontenelle, and of that little court of Sceaux, the school of affectation and far-fetched wit, and the degenerate relic of the seventeenth century, which was, as it were, a miniature of Versailles, or rather an insipid and corrupt revival of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. But the delicacy and grace of Marivaux's wit pierced through the false taste with which he was surrounded. He excelled in depicting the surprises of the heart, or rather of the imagination, so common in this mobile and fantastic society. If he was ignorant of the beaten track of the heart, he knew its by-paths, as Voltaire says; and the charm which his contemporaries found in his piquant plots was not to disappear entirely with the society from which he took his models.[1]

A little later, one of those vivid creations, in which the author is confounded with his work, again rescued a name from forgetfulness. Piron, the witty author of a host of mediocre productions, embalmed in the *Métromanie* (1738) the type of the *rhymer*, — of the man who writes for the sake of writing, as the bird sings, at the moment when this type was about to be effaced before that of the man who writes for the sake of teaching and of fighting, and who uses his pen as a sword. The last comedy of this generation that deserves the remembrance of history was the *Méchant* (1747), in which Gresset depicted, with a remarkable talent for observation, a social caprice of which we have just spoken.

Although the epoch appeared far from tragic, a celebrity was being reared in tragedy, far more brilliant than the comic authors; but it is not yet time to approach the great figure whom we shall soon see ruling over all the paths of renown.

When manners are observed through literature, it becomes necessary to complete the study of the drama by that of the novel,

[1] *Les Jeux de l'Amour et du Hasard* was written in 1730.

which is able to elaborate what the stage only outlines in bold strokes, to free itself from the conventionalities and proprieties imposed on the dramatic poem, and to dare every thing in a word. The novel assumed a character of hackneyed gallantry which was nothing but cold libertinism. It suffices to cite the younger Crébillon, so unlike his father, the gloomy tragic writer. There were, nevertheless, striking exceptions: the Abbé Prévost, a writer of profound, ingenuous, and impassioned feeling, owed the success of his extensive and numerous works precisely to the contrast which he presented to the general physiognomy of his time. Truth and simplicity were a piquant novelty to this generation, satiated with the refinements of the mind and the senses. The huge novels of Prévost were destined one day to be buried in the recesses of libraries, like so many estimable creations untouched by the fire of genius; but this fire rested for a moment on the head of the unhappy abbé, and inspired a little masterpiece,—*Manon Lescaut* (1732). Something still more astonishing was a little novel, which equalled in sensibility and surpassed in painful energy the author of the *Princesse de Clèves*. The *Comte de Comminges* was written by a woman; and this woman was Tencin, the incestuous sister, the unnatural mother, the accomplice and pander of all the vicious men of power; the woman not only led astray by passion, but degraded by the most shameful calculation. Strange mysteries of the human soul! Can the ideal, then, reflect its light to the bottom of such degradation? or is the tradition to be admitted which takes away this work from Tencin to give it to M. d'Argental?[1]

The fine arts offer as many revelations as letters concerning the spirit of the age, and should have their share in the review that we are pursuing. For instance, the modification in the austerity of religious worship by the introduction of stringed instruments, profane airs, and male and female theatrical singers, into church music, is significant. The taste for singing was very widely diffused in the first third of the eighteenth century; and the clavecin and bass-viol had taken the place of the lute and theorbo as fashionable instruments. The school of Lulli, which was only the ancient French music modified with taste and judgment by a Gallicized Italian, reigned with Lulli's successors, Colaud, Mouret, Destouches, and Campra. The science of harmony was a cipher in France; but melody, so tender, so naïve, and so

[1] Marivaux also wrote novels of a powerful and serious cast, in which neither the affectation nor the gallant subtlety of his plays is found.

Grosset, (Jean-Baptiste-Louis)

Poète † 1777.

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ARMIDE
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touching, in our old masters, preserved the expressive and dramatic qualities which are the French characteristics. A learned and powerful artist, Rameau, gave in 1722, in his *Treatise on Harmony*, the signal for a revolution which he accomplished by his works fifteen years later. He introduced the Italian science into France, and, without wholly breaking with the national tradition,[1] freed music from the obligation of expressing determined sentiments in all its modulations, and of following the poetry step by step.

The plastic arts bore a much more apparent relation than music to the manners of this epoch. For instance, architecture no longer erected great monuments; but it made an entire revolution in the interior of dwellings, multiplied the pieces of furniture while diminishing their size, abolished the immense windows and the huge mantles loaded with sculpture, lavished mirrors, and everywhere substituted grace and convenience for grandeur. Voluptuousness had dethroned pride: the monuments of the times are those *petites maisons*, where the nobles and the men of wealth sheltered their pleasures in the gardens of the suburbs of Paris.[2] After the lapse of a century, there may still be perceived here and there, hidden among the islets of tall houses inhabited by the population of the new quarters or half concealed by the remains of a bower of trees, a few of these little temples to the modern Venus, with the festoons of stone and the lascivious masks of nymphs and satyrs that adorned their frontons and friezes, — the last vestiges of an era of epicurean carelessness, forgotten in the midst of this new world, so stormy and so sombre.[3]

In architecture, painting, sculpture, ornaments, decorations, furniture, everywhere ruled fantasy, forms capriciously contorted, coquettish and frivolous graces. The beauty of lines and types had long since been lost. The art of grand composition

[1] See, in the Memoirs of the Marquis d'Argenson (p. 410), the vehement defence of the old French music against the Italian music, which was nothing but a capricious medley in the eyes of the champions of the old school. — See also Lémontei, *Hist. de la Régence*, t. II. p. 366; Voltaire, *Le Temple du Goût*, in which observations are to be found of rare justness.

The only really important monument of this period at Paris is the Church of Saint-Sulpice, an edifice imposing through its proportions, and especially through its portico, but the different parts of which are lacking in taste and beauty. The Bourbon Palace was the first structure in which a new arrangement of the parts in conformity with a plan was established. It was constructed about 1722 by the Duchess de Bourbon, the mother of *Monsieur le Duc*.

[3] The first *petites maisons* were built towards the close of the reign of Louis XIV. by the Marshal d'Huxelles and the Duke de Noailles. — Lémontei, t. II. p. 515.

disappeared in turn from painting with François Lemoine (deceased in 1737), the painter of the ceiling of the *Hall of Hercules* at Versailles. Lemoine had indeed succeeded in planning an immense work, but not in executing it. Tame, incorrect, affected, and devoid of elevation, he consummated the decline of grand painting. Sculpture, on its side, elegant and spirited, but affected, with Coustou, had departed with Lepautre (deceased at a very advanced age in 1744) from the conditions suited to it, and had assumed a theatrical, complicated, and confused character: it no longer knew how to evolve with bold simplicity the essential lines of a group, but tortured itself with expressing minute details which should be neglected by the chisel.[1] Bouchardon, the successor of Lepautre,[2] with a less overwrought style, had neither strength nor purity enough to revive the art. Pigalle was destined to succeed no better. In second-rate statuary, there remained, as in painting, manual skill, subtlety, and vivacity. Spirit, the essential quality of the times, was found again in the arts. While the school of Lebrun degenerated and became extinct with the Coypels, the De Troyes, and the Lemoines, there appeared a species of refined and coquettish Flemish Renaissance, adapted to the *boudoirs* of the eighteenth century. Drawing lost, color at least returned to allure the eye of a sensual epoch. The Regency had a charming painter, who wore, in a nature and society purely conventional, a species of perpetual masquerade, a brilliancy so sparkling that it resembled truth, and a coloring as marvellous as that of the old Flemish masters. Watteau shone for a little time with his *shepherdesses* of the Opera and the *Comédie Italienne*. Other Italianized Flemings, the Vanloos, held for a considerable time the sceptre of painting. Karl Vanloo, so brilliant, so facile, and so lax, remains the type of this school; but fancy painting declined in its turn, like grand painting: the spirit that animated the fancies of Watteau and Vanloo disappeared in Boucher, the favorite painter of Louis XV.; and left nothing subsisting but insipid tameness and vulgar license, like the dregs of evaporated liquor. Boucher was worthy to be the Raphael of the *Parc-aux-Cerfs*. All sentiment of the beautiful and the ideal was so far lost, that men associated these two names, Raphael and Boucher, without thinking it blasphemy, and as if the one was the legitimate successor of the other.[3]

[1] See, in the Garden of the Tuileries, Pœtus and Aria, and Eneas and Anchises.

[2] Statues in the Church Saint-Sulpice; Fountain of the Rue de Grenelle, 1739. Bouchardon died in 1762.

[3] See *Mém. de d'Argenson*, p. 420. And D'Argenson was *personally* the man of all

RAMEAU.

ture de l'Académie Royale de Musique.

H. Grevedon. *Lith. de Demanne*

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One branch of painting continued to flourish amid the ruins of ideality and imagination; namely, portrait-painting. It was in this that spirit and life took refuge. The art of portrait-painting is personified in that Delatour whose pencil has bequeathed to posterity the images, radiant with intellect, of the celebrated men of the eighteenth century.

It is interesting to follow the variations of costume in the monuments left us by the art of design. At the close of the reign of Louis XIV., the costume was ancient, heavy, stiff, exaggerated, and out of all proportion. The Regency threw down the immense perukes of the men and the high *coiffures* which seemed to place the faces of the women in the middle of their bodies. The dress of the men became richer and less full. Both sexes adopted the custom of covering the head with a white powder, which softened the glance and the features, abolished in some sort the difference of ages, and composed, with the *patches* of the women and the disappearance of all the rest of the beard in the men, physiognomies wholly artificial. The women wore the hair short, and gracefully curled; but their body was not liberated like their head:[1] the absurd hoop skirt, imported from England and Germany, replaced the heavy skirts, inflated, and kept in their place by leaden weights. (towards 1718). The whalebone corset, the scourge of several generations, more than ever stifled their waist, obstructed their respiration, and crushed their chest; a custom which would have seemed to the Greeks an impious extravagance of barbarians, strangers to all sentiment of harmony and beautiful proportions.[2] The women of fashion, instead of courageously breaking through this restraint, endured *full dress* in hours of etiquette, and rid themselves of it, in their every-day life, in favor of a *négligé* so bold and so light, that it called to mind the transparent veils, the *vent tissu*, of the Roman ladies of the Empire.[3] The fantastic and

others most remote from the vices of the times; but, in point of art, men *had eyes, but saw not!* Voltaire was little more enlightened in this respect through his literary taste and the prodigious sagacity of his mind than was D'Argenson through the integrity of his heart.

[1] This deliverance was not lasting: in the second half of the reign of Louis XV., the heads of women were bowed anew beneath a scaffolding even more monstrous than in the time of Madame de Maintenon.

[2] The fashion of hoop-skirts was the cause of the formation of a new company for the whale-fishery. — See Lémontei, t. II. p. 332.

[3] The *négligé* had fatal commercial consequences. It necessitated the fabrication of light stuffs, such as our old manufacturing regulations had not foreseen. The government did not know how to make the regulations conform to the new necessities; and England and Holland, more adroit, supplied us by a contraband trade.

voluptuous *négligé* of Parabère and Pompadour was the true antithesis to the stiff and sombre dress of Madame de Maintenon. There was scarcely less difference between the *ruelles* of the seventeenth century and those perfumed *boudoirs*[1] in which the beautiful ladies of the eighteenth century received men of rank, wits, and worldly abbés, during their toilettes.[2]

Influences at once exciting and enervating acted everywhere on the body and the soul, and combined with the extreme facility of intercourse in transforming the moral state of society. We have spoken of the principal places where society might be scrutinized assembled, — the drawing-rooms, the coffee-houses, and the theatres. In these, wit was the ruling power; but there was another place of meeting, which exercised perhaps a more important action on morals. This was the public masked ball, an innovation of the Regency (1776), which became a veritable social, or rather anti-social institution, and which was to the France of the eighteenth century what the voluptuous mysteries of the religious worship of Asia had been to Roman society.[3] A whirlpool of gallant intrigues swept away every thing: the separation of husbands and wives was consummated in these assemblies, where they could not appear together without betraying the incognito which constituted the attraction. Ridicule no longer fell on the deceived, but on the jealous husband: the jealous man became a public enemy. A new code of morals was enunciated: men married to have an heir to their name; then the parties became free on both sides; and not only did they become free to seek other engagements elsewhere, but they would have been ridiculed for not doing so. Good society would not have found derision enough for the love of a husband and a wife.[4] The family tie, already very fragile under the Great

[1] Perfumes, which the antipathy of Louis XIV. had proscribed, and the use of which was passionately resumed in the eighteenth century, must have contributed, as much as coffee, to over-excite the nerves. The increasing use of tobacco, by irritating the mucous membrane, also had its influence on the organization. This strange taste, borrowed from the savages and derided by Voltaire, contrasts strongly with the fastidious neatness and delicate sensuality of the age that propagated it.

[2] A custom much more indecent than the toilet receptions was the employment of male chambermaids for women. The weakening of the sentiment of modesty in fashionable women was remarked by all kinds of modifications in habits. The general substitution of accoucheurs for midwives, which has become so common that no one is any longer shocked by it, dates from this epoch. — See Lémontei, t. II. ch. xxi.

[3] The Chevalier de Bouillon first conceived the idea of converting theatres into ball-rooms for masked balls by means of a movable floor. He received a pension of six thousand francs for this invention.

[4] This was the *Préjugé à la mode*, attacked in one of the first works of Nivelle de

King, was thus dissolved in the higher classes, and weakened in the middle and lower classes, which were invaded by adroit seduction, by gross corruption, and by example.

In the Middle Ages, also, the chivalric spirit had attacked the unity of marriage, but for the purpose of separating ideal love from the lower realities, the vulgarities of actual life: a rash effort, outside of the normal development of life; but an heroic effort, after all, for the very reason that it was impossible to sustain it otherwise than in an exceptional state. The eighteenth century, on its side, tended to destroy love after marriage, sentiment after law, chivalrous morality after the morality of the Church. Two Englishmen, a novelist and a statesman, enunciated the theory of this new code of morals, which attained nowhere but in France what may be called the perfection of elegant corruption, but which the rest of Europe practised with a species of naïveté in the southern countries, and of brutality in those of the north: they enunciated this theory, the one to anathematize it, the other to preach it to his own son in familiar letters not designed to see the light! The highest model, to Chesterfield, is Cæsar, who knew how to be at once the first man of pleasure and the first man of business of his time; the husband of all women, and the master of all men. Gallant intrigues formed and dissolved by the senses, by vanity, by the most superficial charms of the mind, by interests and conventionality, — this is what he substitutes for the ideal constancy and unity in the passion taught by the Middle Ages. He does not go so far as absolutely to deny love; but it is evident that it is to him an unknown god. Richardson, the other Englishman, shows something worse in his celebrated novel, animated with such powerful and thrilling reality.[1] Chesterfield has only presented brilliant, frivolous, and shallow corruption, which makes love a reciprocal fancy or an *arrangement*,[2] instead of an adoration: Richardson shows vice elevated to

la Chaussée, who attempted to create the plebeian drama by substituting, in comedy, interest in situations and passions for interest in characters and humor. The attempt was lacking in genius. Despite the corruption of the Regency, the most frivolous women were still seen, at this epoch, courageously following the ancient custom of shutting themselves up with their husbands ill of the small-pox, and exposing themselves to death for them as if they had loved them with the greatest fidelity. Another very remarkable fact in the contrary direction was the introduction of the habit of stipulating in the marriage contract that the wife should not be obliged to reside on her husband's estates. — See Lémontei, t. II. p. 277.

[1] *Clarissa Harlowe.*

[2] "An *arrangement* is as necessary a part of the woman of fashion's establishment as her house, stable, coach, etc."—Letter of June 5, 1750.

tragic proportions, systematic seduction pursuing with cold and violent perfidy whatever virtue and true sentiment still subsists in the heart of woman; the seducer transformed into a sort of hero resplendent with infernal glory. *Lovelace* is the *Antichrist* of love. This strange figure did not lack models: Lovelace was only a Richelieu greater and more earnest in evil. Maurice de Saxe expressed an exceptional shade; he had not that serpent-like coldness: impetuous in vice as in battle, he was an Homeric Ajax, devoid of moral sense, thrown amidst a refined system of civilization, and capable of odious and generous acts according as his frenzy impelled him.[1] But whether Lovelace, in the real world, was called Richelieu or Maurice de Saxe, if the character and the means differed, the result was the same, — it was still the idol of former times become a plaything. The greatness of the chivalric ideal had been the voluntary submission of strength to weakness, under which a moral force hitherto unrevealed was instinctively felt. The chivalric ideal had not contented itself with radically denying the inferiority of woman; an inferiority, the idea of which had reposed, in antiquity, on an imperfect knowledge of the laws of life and history: it had audaciously proclaimed the superiority of the sex which more especially represented the principle of sentiment, over the strong and reasoning sex. Now, women reigned no longer except in appearance; for their moral sovereignty was undermined, and all respect for them was disappearing, not without the connivance of most among them. A truly satanic persecution was exercised, no longer by brute force, as formerly, but by refined and satiated wit, against sentiment, which was all their strength. The sensualism of this time was worse, in certain respects, than that of the ancients, because it was less instinctive, and more perverse, — because it was a perversion of the mind, rather than an over-excitement of the senses.

Mark what was written, just before the middle of this century, by one of the best men of this generation, — the minister who had endeavored to restore a national policy to France.

"The heart is a faculty of which we are daily divesting ourselves for want of exercise, while the mind is becoming sharpened and whetted. We are becoming wholly intellectual beings; . . . but I predict that this kingdom will perish through the extinction

[1] A disgraceful stain on his life is his persecution of Madame Favert, that charming actress, whom he importuned, terrified, then imprisoned in a convent, because she attempted to free herself from his tyrannical passion. The police, under a government falling to decay, became the infamous instrument of all the vicious men of power.

of the faculties that are derived from the heart. Men no longer have friends; they no longer love their mistresses: how can they love their country? . . . We are daily losing that beautiful part of ourselves styled sensibility. Love, and the need of loving, are disappearing from the earth. . . . Interested calculations now absorb every moment: every thing is devoted to the commerce of intrigue. . . . The internal flame is dying out for want of fuel. Paralysis is gaining the heart. . . . It is by following the gradations from the love of thirty years ago to that of to-day that I prophesy its speedy extinction."[1]

We have spoken thus far of little else than the upper strata of society: this has been inevitable. It was there that the revolution in manners was effected which was destined to react on the rest of the nation, as it is there that we are about to see the commencement of the revolution in ideas. The bourgeoisie yielded in great part to the example of the men of fashion, while feeling instinctively that the decline of the nobility was working in their favor. As to the masses of the people, the peasant, bowed by want over his plough, was ignorant of what was passing above him; and the mechanic of the towns was careless and gay so long as bread was not dear. Nevertheless, they were ceasing to endure with patience the privileges of the *vale taille;* they were becoming disenchanted with many things; and a few remarkable incidents will speedily show that royalty was already far distant from the days of the *return from Metz.* Meanwhile, the people contributed their quota to the corruption of the epoch by the thirty-two thousand prostitutes of Paris.[2]

One of the vices most dangerous to public order, because it attacked men simultaneously by two powerful passions, cupidity and the thirst for excitement, — play, — had assumed frightful proportions since the economic tempests of Law. In 1722, Dubois, by authorizing public gaming-houses (academies of play), opened the dikes, and suffered the temptation to descend to the classes which had hitherto encountered no other peril than the tavern. The greatest nobles — the Carignans (of the royal blood of Sardinia), the Nassaus, the De Gesvres, the De Tresmes, the Armagnacs, the Listenais, the Du Roures — kept public gaming-tables at their residences, and farmed them out for large sums to croupiers. Before the

[1] *Mém. de d'Argenson*, p. 417.

[2] See Dulaure, *Hist. de Paris*, t. VI. p. 309, 6th edition. — See the sad details of the *Chronique* of 1742, edited by an agent of the secret police. "The number of mothers who prostituted their daughters daily became greater." —*Revue rétrospective*, t. V. p. 38.

public gaming-houses had been authorized, a princess of eighteen, one of the daughters of the Regent, Mademoiselle de Valois, on her way to Italy to marry the Duke of Modena, had journeyed slowly through France, stopping at every town to gather about her the élite of the country around a green table loaded with heaps of gold. She seemed the demon of play, as her sister, the Duchess of Berry, had seemed the demon of lust and intoxication.[1] (1720).

In expatiating on the manners of the higher classes, we come to the highest of all, the princes and sovereigns. Here it was very different. The men of rank covered every thing with a gloss of politeness, and were restrained, to a certain point, by the necessity of mutual respect, by good education, at least external, and by the limits — very insufficient, it is true — which the laws and public authority set to their power of doing evil. The princes, on their side, were necessarily badly brought up, since they had no equals, and were not compelled to observe reciprocity towards any one; and they had nothing to fear from the laws, since the progress of absolute power had set them almost everywhere above the laws. Their vices, shamelessly displayed in broad daylight, rose, therefore, to crime or madness. The courts of Europe presented a monstrous picture: the Farneses and Medicis dying out, rendered sterile by the most ignominious habits; Augustus II. of Poland, that Hercules of debauchery, with his three hundred and fifty-four bastards; Don John V. of Portugal, a compound of extravagant contradictions, gross and lettered, superstitious and unbridled, who made a seraglio of a convent of three hundred nuns, which he only entered escorted by his confessor; the King of Sardinia, who, guaranteed from all scruple by the authorization of the Archbishop of Turin, imprisoned his father, who, after voluntarily abdicating the throne, was suspected of wishing to ascend it again; the King of Prussia, Frederick William, a half-bigoted, half-cynical wild beast, who beat women, and ministers of the gospel, in the streets, caused his son's mistress to be publicly whipped, and his friend decapitated, ordering the young prince to be held by force at the window while the head of his friend rolled on the scaffold, then attempted to throw his daughter out of the window; the Elector of Hanover, who, before becoming the King of England, George I., had caused the lover of his young wife, whom he had for-

[1] *Journal de Barbier*, t. II. p. 291; Saint-Simon, t. XVII. p. 305; Lémontei, t. II. p. 309; *Mémoires du marquis de Mirabeau*, ap. *Revue rétrospective*, t. III. By way of compensation, a certain degree of probity was introduced into play, in which the courtiers under Louis XIV. had scrupled little at cheating.

saken for ignoble and ridiculous favorites, to be thrown alive into an oven, then kept the unhappy princess shut up during her whole life in the donjon of a castle in Lower Saxony; and George II., reputed to be the son of the lover burned alive, and not of George I., who, less atrocious, but not more honest, than the latter, stole the will of George I. to avoid paying the legacies which were found inserted in it; upon which his nephew, the Great Frederick, wrote to him that he deserved the galleys, which well-nigh procured Europe the spectacle of a duel between the two monarchs.[1] The most hideous acts of infamy polluted certain of the petty courts of Germany. The Imperial Palace of Vienna, under Charles VI. and Maria Theresa, formed an exception by its rigid morals; but, in compensation, the House of Austria showed all the harshness of that narrow devotion which is based on the fear of hell, instead of on the love of God and of mankind. As to Russia, every change of reign, and they were frequent, was a classic tragedy, with plots, daggers, poison, and proscriptions. Peter the Great was reputed to have been poisoned by his wife, and his wife by her favorite, which is doubtful; but no doubt exists as to the appalling executions that signalized each palace revolution, till the Czarina Elizabeth definitively commuted the massacres to deportation to the frozen hell of Siberia.

It must be admitted that this review of the European monarchies greatly rehabilitates the memory of Louis XIV., and gives rise to admiration that an absolute king could have remained comparatively so honest a man. It should also be admitted that the House of Bourbon, with its Orleans sunk in orgies, and its Condés, basely covetous or maniacs of lustful cruelty, were only on a level with the rest of the sovereign houses, and that the Regency did not deserve to be the scapegoat of all the excesses of Europe. The King of Portugal, with his confessor and his three hundred nuns, was quite equal to the Regent and Madame de Berry, with their sacrilegious communions on quitting their orgies.[2] Louis XV. had given thus far his fully sufficient share of scandal: but this was only a prelude; and to him was reserved the mournful honor of exceeding the average of princely corruption, and of

[1] See P. Chasles, *Revue des Deux Mondes* of April 15, 1844.

[2] It was an honorable trait in the courtiers, that, from the death of the Regent, the Knights of the Holy Ghost abstained from communicating at the annual mass of their order; being no longer willing to lend themselves to a usage which was nothing but a profanation of religious rites in the existing state of morals. — See Lémontei, t. II. p. 302.

effacing the vices of the Regent by vices baser and more cowardly. He had still many degrees to descend before reaching the bottom of that ocean of pollution in which he was to remain buried!

The princes of the Church were not more exemplary than the temporal princes. In truth, the pollution here did not reach to the highest rank: we neither witness the reappearance on the chair of St. Peter of the horrible scandals of the fifteenth, nor of the fanatical frenzy of the sixteenth centuries. The popes of the eighteenth century made little noise in the world: they were men of peaceful and decent manners, and seemed to strive to present as little cause as possible for the storm that was gathering. Benedict XIII. was even a godly man: Benedict XIV. (1740), despite somewhat singular manners and language, was an enlightened, sensible, and upright man. But if the Sacred College, through the instinct of preservation, suitably filled the Holy See, it gave ample indemnification in its own bosom to the spirit of evil. To speak only of France, never had any thing been seen like the group of cardinals formed around Dubois, and flanked by a large number of archbishops and bishops worthy to follow in their train. Habitual intrigue of the blackest and vilest kind was only a venial sin in this satanic conclave, where simony, swindling, incest, and unnatural vice, were enthroned in the guise of the red hat. The Church of France no longer existed except through a few scattered waifs from a vast shipwreck. An admirable genius exhausted itself in maintaining the moral tradition of generations which were no more, — that Massillon who seems the last pillar of a fallen temple. The successor of Bourdaloue, consecrated in some sort by Bourdaloue himself, he had given utterance in the last days of Louis XIV. to new accents full of emotion; then had pronounced over the grave that had just received the Great King the words, "*God alone is great, my brethren;*" and, in all his teachings to the powerful of earth, he had endeavored to blend the religious maxims of Bossuet, softened by a spirit of tolerance,[1] with the political maxims of Fénelon, marked by a more vital and more plebeian tone. The *divine right* of Bossuet was left far behind. Massillon repeated, with an eloquence which was his alone, the principles that re-

[1] In the *Oraison funèbre de Louis* XIV., and in the *Discours de réception à l'Académie* (1719), he blames the abuses of the stage, and not the stage itself. He praises the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the *Oraison funèbre*, but seems to attempt to gain pardon for this panegyric, necessitated by his subject and his vocation, by interpolating an anathema on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which was not required by his subject.

2569

Peint par Cars

Bénoit XIV (Prosper Lambertini.)
Pape + 1758.

Diagraphe et Pantographe Gavard

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Tableau du temps

Massillon (Jean-Baptiste)

Evêque de Clermont 1742.

Diagraphe et Pantographe Gérard

sounded around him in all the polemical writings of the Regency concerning the duties of kings and the character of royalty, considered as having been originally only a pure delegation from the people.[1] He strove thus to pave the way for a compromise between the Church and royalty on the one hand, and the age on the other. The rulers of the day responded, not by confiding Louis XV. to him to bring up like another Duke of Burgundy, but by imposing on him the mission of consecrating Dubois the successor of Fénelon. The good man, in a moment of weakness, fell into this snare laid by an ironical demon. Massillon was in his turn the victim of this corrupt government, which he had lately stigmatized with so much energy in his *Petit-Carême*. Twenty years of virtue redeemed this mournful day, and Massillon (deceased in 1742) left a name respected in religious tradition: he attained, through pathos of sentiment, the height reached by Bossuet through logical force, and remains among the purest models of language;[2] but his individual glory saved nothing, strengthened nothing.

In the ranks of the Jansenists, or the decided Gallicans, a few men of merit and virtue still honored the Church, and preserved themselves from enervation by a little sectarian exaggeration: the most eminent was Rollin, that candid old man, who has remained the type among us of the noble vocation of teaching.[3] But the *convulsionist* follies, by degrees, brought this party into discredit. On the opposite side, in the party of the Jesuits, there were also a few virtuous men, but narrower and more contracted: a few pious prelates, like Belzunce at Marseilles, and, later, Christophe de Beaumont at Paris, served as instruments to the adroit. The Jesuits were fully conscious that something else was needed to sustain themselves; and with the profound policy bequeathed to them by their founder, at the moment when they felt the higher classes escaping them, they invented a means of action on the masses of the people, — a rite, almost a new religious worship, adapted to strike the grossest imaginations by a touching mate-

[1] See *Œuvres de Massillon*, Lefèvre's edition, 1838, t. III. p. 866.

[2] He defines taste as "arbitrary, and regulated by conventionalities and customs like eloquence," t. III. p. 499. Taste is as fundamental a quality in him as pathos. We have not the courage to reproach him with some redundance, which, as well as gentleness, he has in common with Fénelon.

[3] His excellent *Traité des Études* was written in 1726. He was fully conscious from that time of what Duclos was later to express so vividly in his *Considérations sur les Mœurs*, — the danger of sacrificing education to instruction, morality to the intellect. The *Ancient History* of Rollin, which enjoys so great a publicity, but which causes us to love the author more than it truly makes known the spirit of antiquity, appeared from 1730 to 1738.

rial representation. Towards the close of the past century, a poor nun of the Visitation, who bore a soul enthusiastic to delirium in a body diseased and ungraceful by nature, had caused disturbance in the Convent of Parai-le-Monial, near Autun, by the insane tortures that she inflicted on herself;[1] her pretended conversations with Jesus Christ, and her conflicts with the Devil, who appeared to her in the figure of a *Moor* with glittering eyes, threw her from her chair, and harassed her unceasingly. A physical circumstance, probably an aneurism, the suffering from which mingled with her trances, appears to have given a particular direction to her devotion. She imagined that Jesus Christ had shown her his burning heart in his open breast, and she talked unceasingly of the *sacred heart of Jesus*. All the mystics had spoken of it with vivid images, a thing quite in conformity with the spirit of Christian symbolism; but no one had had the idea of materializing this symbol, — of displaying a bleeding heart on the altars, and making it the rallying sign of an affiliation. Two Jesuits conceived this idea; incarnated the visions of the nun of the Visitation, Marie Alacoque; and presented this poor creature as an inspired being, commissioned by Christ to teach the adoration of his *heart* on earth. The new revelation, at first ill received by the Gallican Church, had little effect for thirty years after the death of Marie Alacoque (deceased in 1690): it was not until during the *Plague of Marseilles*, that the Bishop Belzunce, instigated by the Jesuits, gave a great éclat to it by consecrating his diocese to the *Sacred Heart of Jesus*. A prelate, who is far from meriting the same respect as Belzunce, the Bishop of Soissons, Languet, undertook to strike a decisive blow by publishing the life of the *blessed woman* (1729). This book, in which an intriguer, reared between the Duboises and the Tencins, sought to ape the pious naïveté of the legendaries, fell to the ground amidst universal hisses. The well-prepared machine failed in its effect: the court of Rome maintained a prudent reserve: the *Sacred Heart* returned to obscurity, and the parliament dispersed its affiliations. But the Jesuits never abandon a plan once adopted; and France was again to see the *Sacred Heart*, after more than sixty years, shine like a sinister meteor in the civil war of the Vendée; then later, by a new transformation, reappear, and pursue its invasion under a more pacific aspect.[2]

[1] She cut the name of Jesus Christ on her breast with a pen-knife; then poured boiling wax into it. The rest was in harmony with this.

[2] *La Vie de la Bienheureuse Mère Marie-Marguerite*, by M. J. J. Languet, Bishop of

Engraved by White after the original Picture by Coypel

Charles Rollin.

[illegible]

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As to the present, Marie Alacoque was swallowed up in the ridicule, which, finally, also ingulfed her rival, the blessed Pâris, at first better received by the public as the enemy of the Jesuits. The same discredit involved the two great religious factions. Society, although vicious itself, despised the clergy both for its vices and its superstitions, as teaching what it did not believe, or as believing in absurdities: necessary and fundamental articles of faith were confounded in ironical doubt with abuses and errors. All religious, moral, and political traditions were shaken by the acts, and often even by the ideas, of those very persons who existed only by these traditions; that is to say, the temporal and spiritual princes, if, however, pure negations can be called ideas. All respect was lost in the world. Social superiority was destroyed by its own hands. Before positive equality, the equality of rights, had made its way into public favor through the teachings of philosophy, minds had already begun to accept a negative equality, founded on contempt for others rather than on self-respect, on the degradation of what was above them rather than on the elevation of what was beneath them. This progress by means of negation and subversion, this progress through the *critical spirit*, was destined to lead the new world to the conquest of utter negation, if

Soissons, 1729, 4to, Paris; Lémontei, *Hist. de la Régence*, t. II. p. 442. He gives very curious details. It is known that the insurgents of the Vendée wore the *Sacred Heart* on their breast. Two religious institutions of a purer origin coincide with the first renown of the *Sacred Heart:* these were the *Daughters of Sainte-Martha*, established in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in 1722 by the widow of the sculptor Théodon; and the *Brothers of the Christian Schools*, founded in 1725 by a canon of Rheims, — Jean de la Salle. The spirit that had presided over the foundation of the great institutions of the seventeenth century reappeared in these societies, called forth by the idea of remedying the neglect in which the children of the people were vegetating. The *Daughters of Sainte-Martha*, a Jansenist institution, devoted itself to instructing young girls and taking care of the sick: their institution has survived to our days, without greatly increasing. The growth of the schools for boys of the *Brothers of the Christian Schools*, the counterpart of this institution in spirit, has been immense. These orders rendered services and possessed incontestable virtues, counterbalanced by objections which were scarcely perceptible under the ancient régime, but which grew more apparent in proportion as the institutions became democratic. Every religious congregation devoted to active life tends to become a petty State within a State, — a State which knows only its special laws and the general laws of the Church, and which, disregarding the *divine right* of the country, sees in civil and political law only a fact, and not a duty. To rear citizens, it is necessary to have the principles and the sentiments of a citizen: to rear subjects, this was not so necessary. Another objection was the almost inevitable relation that was established between this modest and humble body, designed for primary instruction, and the more learned and able body, that aimed at taking possession of secondary instruction and of the children of the classes in easy circumstances, and which could scarcely fail to impose its books and tendencies on the former.

the principle of sentiment did not awaken in time to bring back affirmation and life.

We have just cited a remarkable passage from D'Argenson. As early as 1704, in the year of the death of Bossuet, and eleven years before the death of Louis XIV., when *authority* still seemed to rule the world, the greatest philosopher of Europe had written the following words in his refutation of Locke: "Like opinions (opinions opposed to the existence of Providence and of responsibility in another life), insinuating themselves by degrees into the spirit of the great men who regulate others, and who govern public affairs, and gliding into fashionable books, are preparing all things for the general *revolution* with which Europe is threatened, and consummating the destruction of whatever is left in the world of the generous sentiments of the ancient Greeks and Romans, who preferred the love of country and of the public good, and the care for posterity, to fortune, and even to life. These *public-spirited* men, as the English call them, are greatly diminishing; and they will decrease more when they cease to be supported by the good morals and true religion which natural reason itself teaches us. . . . Men openly deride the love of country; they ridicule those who care for the public; and, when any well-intentioned man talks of what will become of posterity, they answer, Let the future take care of itself. But it may occur to these persons (the great), that they will experience themselves the evils that they believe reserved for others. . . . If this epidemical disease of the mind continues to increase, Providence will correct men by the very revolution to which it must give birth; for, whatever may happen, every thing will always tend to the general good, . . . although this should not and cannot take place without the chastisement of those who have even contributed to this good by their bad deeds."[1]

SECTION II. — VOLTAIRE AND MONTESQUIEU.

We have been able to sketch the picture of social manners without naming a single one of the great contemporary innovators. The reason of this has been, that the philosophers of the eighteenth century did not create this condition of minds and hearts: it existed before any of them appeared. This moral state marks

[1] Leibnitz, *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement humain*, liv. iv. ch. xvi. — See the edition of M. Amédée Jacques, p. 480; Paris, 1844.

the transition from the age of Descartes to the age of Voltaire and Rousseau: it is the night between two long days; two days very different, it is true, and one of which was as stormy as the other had been serene. The philosophers were born in the surroundings which we have described: we shall see how they modified them. Born in pure criticism, we shall see what they succeeded in affirming.

Before accosting those to whom this age has given preëminently the name of *philosophers*, the leaders of schools and parties, a few more observations on the movement of serious literature, and on the second-rate men who preceded or surrounded the geniuses of the age, will complete, as it were, the frame in which these great figures are to be placed.

We have touched on imaginative literature in depicting society: as to scientific literature and the sciences proper, there were, in the first period of the age, marked fluctuations, a restless expectation, experiments, numerous innovations, all the characteristics of a transitional epoch such as we have just described with respect to manners. Cartesianism ruled in the Academy of Sciences and in the enlightened portion of Jansenism and Gallicanism. Despite the decision of the Sorbonne, fallen into disuse, it had reconquered the religious bodies of instruction, and encroached upon the Jesuits themselves. The champions of the past, who had been its bitter enemies during the period of its strength and growth, compromised it by demanding of it an asylum, now that its real power was in an inverse ratio to its increase: like an overflowing river, now that it covered every thing, it had become shallow. The great geniuses had disappeared, Malebranche in 1715, Leibnitz in 1719; and no one in France could claim their inheritance. Christian Cartesianism was represented by the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, the Cardinal de Polignac, and the Jesuit Buffier; the Spinozist tendency, by Mairan, of the Academy of Sciences. Fontenelle, who was, till 1740, the voice and spirit of this academy, sustained Cartesian physics there with unshaken constancy; but his faith was less firm in metaphysics, and sensualistic tendencies manifested themselves in him. None of these men, moreover, had either the initiative or the power necessary to sustain and renew the school.

We shall speedily revert to the movement of the physical sciences: it is sufficient to mention here that public opinion expressed a lively interest in the sciences which acted on nature, and which increased the resources and enjoyments of man.

Much less favor was accorded to the study of the past. The labors of erudition were pursued, however, with laudable perseverance. The Benedictines continued to collect and bring to light innumerable materials for the national history. Father Montfaucon, after his prodigious work, *Antiquity Explained* (15 vols. in fol., 1719-1724), published his *Monuments of the French Monarchy* (5 vols. in fol., 1729-1733), an immense work, in which it is to be regretted that the bad taste and insipidity of designers incapable of reproducing the types of the Middle Ages should have defeated the intentions of the illustrious archæologist: the idea of placing before the eyes the whole succession of history by means of pictured monuments none the less retains its greatness. By the side of Montfaucon, another Benedictine, Dom Bouquet, entered, by D'Aguesseau's order, upon a magnificent undertaking, formerly conceived by Colbert, the *Collection of the Historians of the Gauls and of France*, the crowning work of all the services of the congregation of Saint-Maur, and the principal basis on which the edifice of the national history was to be established.[1] The *Literary History of France*, commenced by Dom Rivet (1733), was the complement of the great *Collection of Historians*. At the same time, the separate history of the towns and provinces gave rise to very remarkable works, among which appears in the first rank the *History of Languedoc*, by Dom Vaissette, a true masterpiece of its kind (1730-1745). Some lay scholars rivalled the disciples of St. Benedict. The *Collection of the Ordinances of the Kings of France of the Third Race* is the true legislative history of the monarchy. Laurière, who drew the plan of it under Louis XIV., was able at length to begin its execution under the Regent; and Secousse, the author of excellent dissertations on the history of France, worthily replaced Laurière from 1728.

These laborious and slow enterprises, which accumulated mountains of erudition, and which the Regent had had the merit of encouraging, were not sufficiently appreciated by an ardent and impatient generation: the public interest was attracted by historical sciences only in so far as they bordered on politics and philosophy. The innovating spirit began to agitate the heavy masses gathered up by scholars, and to transfuse therein motion and life. The critical genius which Richard Simon had introduced into the

[1] The first eight volumes in folio were published by Dom Bouquet from 1738 to 1754. His fellow-Benedictines continued the work; and the Academy of Inscriptions, the successor to the labors of the Benedictines, has resumed, since the Revolution, the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules* and the *Histoire littéraire*, and finished the *Recueil des Ordonnances*.

Biblical exegesis had just been applied to the elements of general history by a more extended, more brilliant, and more philosophic intellect. Nicolas Fréret[1] had attempted, while still young, to disengage the soul of our national history from all this accumulation of facts and dates. This was in 1714, in the height of the persecution against Jansenism. Fréret began by reading to the Academy of Inscriptions a paper in which he determined the true origin of the Franks: in this dissertation, he shook the bases of the recent *History of France* of the Jesuit Daniel, then in great favor, and invested with the post of historiographer. Fréret was imprisoned in the Bastille, as suspected of Jansenism, and remained there some months.[2] Deeming it impossible to write the national history under an absolute monarchy, he abandoned the extensive researches concerning the state of manners and of the government at different epochs of our annals,[3] which he had commenced, and fell back on remote antiquity; plunging into the obscure labyrinth of the primitive ages with the clew of the Method. "His admirable perspicuity of mind," says a great historian, "brought forth a new science from darkness and chaos. The chronology of the times that have no history, the origin and migrations of nations, the filiation of races and tongues, were for the first time established on rational bases."[4] History thenceforth had laws: it emerged from empiricism, as geography, its faithful auxiliary, had done before with Delisle, the friend of Fréret. Fréret did for the annals of the human race what the creators of geology were destined to do for the history of the globe, and the lost races that inhabited it before man.[5]

[1] We spoke just now of second-rate men. An exception must be made in his favor: he belongs to the first class.

[2] The elegant historian Vertot was more successful: he demolished in a very respectful manner the monarchical fable of the *Sainte-ampoule* (the phial of holy oil used at the coronation of the kings of France), and was not disturbed. He had better chosen his time.

[3] The President Hénault attempted later, in very narrow proportions and in a wholly monarchical spirit, something in accordance with this plan, — the *Abrégé chronologique de l'Hist. de France* (1744); an estimable and useful work, but very different from the bold and powerful spirit of Fréret.

[4] Augustin Thierry, *Considérations sur l'Hist. de France*, ch. i. p. 46, 7th edition. In 1738, a French refugee in Holland, Louis de Beaufort, made a bold application of the critical spirit to the most popular of histories: he overthrew the whole romance of the first ages of Rome, almost at the very moment that the excellent Rollin contented himself, in his *Roman History*, with reproducing Titus Livy.

[5] The titles of a few of Fréret's dissertations may cause the scope of his labors to be appreciated: —

Reflections on the Study of Ancient Histories, and the Degree of Certainty of their Proofs.

The science of Fréret, however new it may have been, was still disinterested science, philosophic in method, but with no other end than the knowledge of truth for its own sake. By the side of Fréret, therefore, minds greatly inferior to him obtained a more noisy renown by introducing political and polemical passions into history. We have repeatedly spoken of the Count de Boulainvilliers, on the occasion of his book *The State of France*, and of the projects for reform which he presented to the Regent. It is by another work that he has remained celebrated; that is, by his historico-political system, summed up in the axiom, that *the feudal government is the masterpiece of the human mind.* This theory, set forth in the *History of the Ancient Government of France* and the *Letters on the Parliament*, published in Holland in 1727, after the author's death, had an astonishing and scandalous success. All progress, whether of the royal authority or of the civil and municipal liberties of plebeians, was, to Boulainvilliers, a usurpation detrimental to the rights of the nobility, the sole heirs of the ancient Franks, the conquerors of Gaul. It was impossible to trace back the course of ages with stranger audacity. Men had not yet reached the point of replying to this son of the Franks, as Sieyès was to do, in the name of the Gaulish democracy: they replied in that of the Roman, semi-municipal, semi-monarchical Gaul. A diplomatic abbé, the perpetual secretary of the French

General Views concerning the Origin and Mixture of Ancient Nations.

Defence of the Chronology founded on the Monuments of Ancient History, in opposition to the Chronological System of Newton.

Essay on the Chronology of the Scriptures.

On the Antiquity and Certainty of Chinese Chronology.

Researches with Respect to the Religious and Philosophical Traditions of the Indians, to serve as Preliminaries to the Investigation of their Chronology.

Chronology and History of the Assyrians of Nineveh.

On Egyptian Chronology.

The Cimmerii (Origin of the Gauls).

On the Nature and Religion of the Greeks.

On the Extent of Ancient Philosophy.

The Nature and the best known Dogmas of the Gaulish Religion.

General Principles of the Scriptures.

The Origin and Ancient History of the Earliest Ages of Greece.

The Origin and Ancient History of the Earliest Ages of Italy.

On the Word *Druid.*

On the Word *Merovingian.*

All these papers were first published in the *Recueil* of the Academy of Inscriptions. The essential facts concerning the life and history of this king of historical criticism are found collected in a very interesting report made to the Academy of Inscriptions by its learned perpetual secretary, M. Walckenaer, on the unpublished MSS. of Fréret, 1850. Pertinent to the works on our national origin, it is just to mention Father Pezron's *Traité de l'Antiquité de la nation et de la langue des Celtes ou Gaulois*, 1703.

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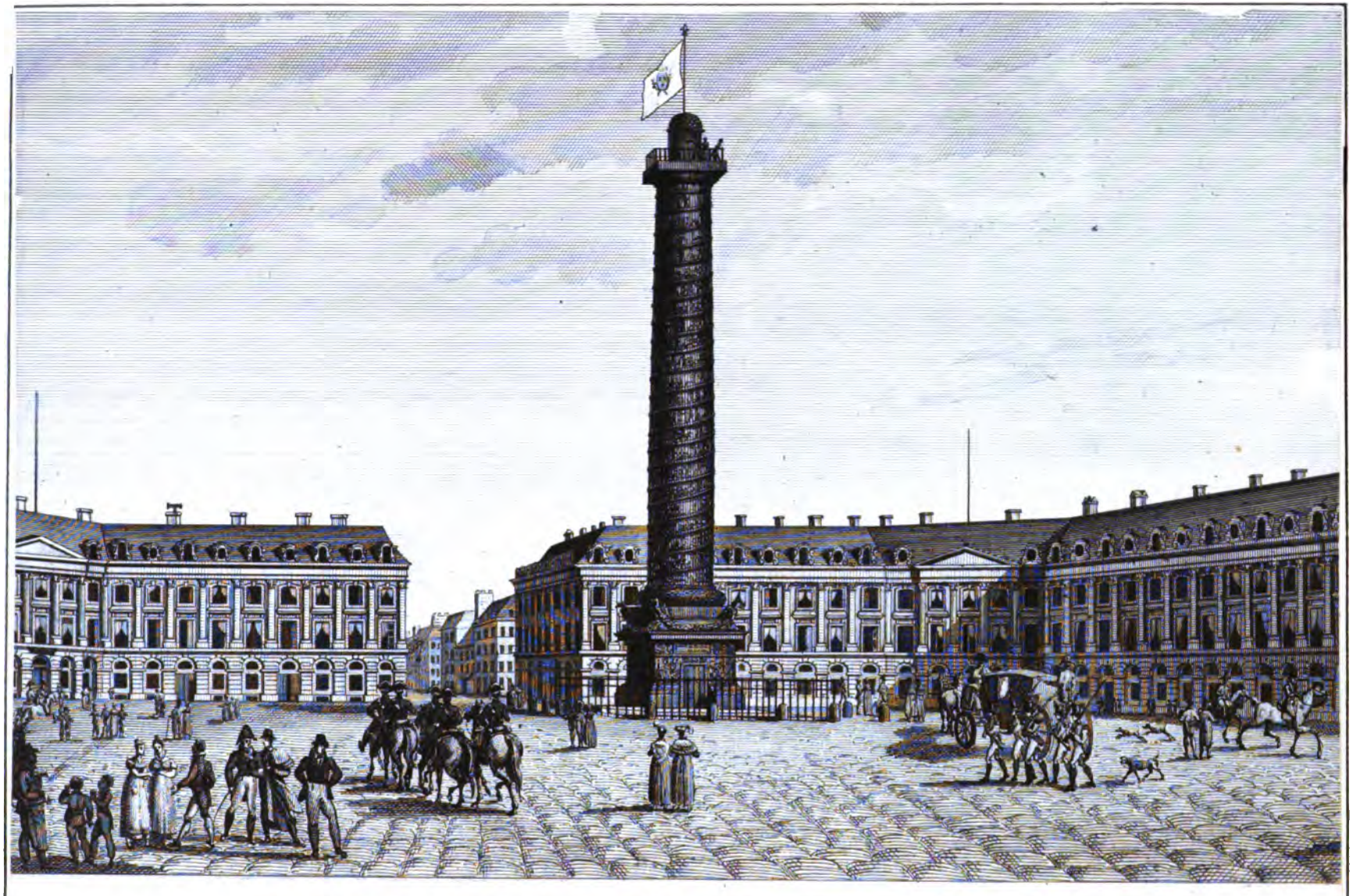

VUE DE LA COLONNE DE LA PLACE VENDOME

Academy, and the author of a few works on diplomatic polemics, and an excellent book on æsthetics,[1] made the most voluminous and most learned of these replies, dictated by the old bourgeois spirit. In his *Critical History of the Establishment of the French Monarchy* (1734), a work in which profound researches are blended with paradoxical assertions, the Abbé Dubos, instead of replying that the pretended rights of the conquerors had expired by limitation, attempted to prove that there never had been any conquest of the Gauls by the Franks; that the Frankish or French monarchy had succeeded amicably to the rights of the Roman Empire over the Gauls; and that feudalism had been established, purely by means of usurpation, several centuries after. He proved at least — a thing of great importance to our tradition — that the Gallo-Roman municipal régime, the antique civil society, had continued to subsist under the Frankish kings. Public opinion and the scholars pronounced themselves in favor of Dubos: but the quarrel was not ended; and an illustrious authority, Montesquieu, was to interpose therein a mediation not altogether impartial.

Outside of historical systems, political studies proper preoccupied many minds. From 1724 to 1731, a remarkable attempt was made to form a kind of free academy of moral and political sciences, — sciences which had no place in the royal academies. An Abbé Alari, a man of wit and learning, organized at his residence, in an entresol in the Place Vendôme, periodical conferences, where a score of diplomatists, magistrates, and men of letters, met to discuss all kinds of political matters. The ideas of Fénelon, and, above all, of Vauban, prevailed in this assembly, which probably owed to one of its members, Lord Bolingbroke, the English name of the *Club of the Entresol.* This was the first appearance of the word *club* among us. The indefatigable Abbé de Saint-Pierre overwhelmed the *Entresol* with his papers. We have mentioned elsewhere his Utopian scheme of *Universal Peace*, and his efforts for the reformation of taxation. He wished to reform every thing, from legal proceedings to orthography. A man of panaceas, he thought to preserve the State from all evils abroad by the *European Diet*, designed to prevent war; and from all ills at home by the *improved system of balloting*, — a plan of lists of candidates for public functions, to be presented to the King by each category of functionaries, in case of vacancies. A great enemy of useless expenditure, he even went so far as to involve the fine arts in his

[1] *Essai sur le Beau, Réflexions critiques sur la Poésie et la Peinture*, 1719.

reprobation of pomp and luxury. He nevertheless almost always blended sound ideas with his Utopian projects; as, for instance, concerning the unity of the code, religious tolerance, and the moral improvement of education (*Plan for the Improvement of Education, with a Dissertation on the Greatness and Sanctity of Mankind;* 1728, 12mo). In a letter written towards the close of his life (1740), he expresses a sentiment of touching patriotism: "I am dying of fear," he says, "lest human reason has ceased to grow, and rather at London than at Paris, where the communication of demonstrated truths is, as to the present, less easy." A churchman, he showed himself everywhere religious with conviction and simplicity; but he openly declared himself in favor of the marriage of priests.[1]

The timid Fleuri was terrified at the *Entresol*, and obliged the new academicians to cease their meetings. This movement of theoretical politics, thus arrested, was summed up in a book which did not make all the noise that it deserved, because it was not published until after the author's death, and at an epoch when it was surpassed by works more radical and more brilliant (1765), but which, replaced in the surroundings in which it was written (before 1739), in the highest degree merits the attention of the historian. This was the *Considerations on the Government of France*, by that Marquis d'Argenson whose name recurs so often to our pen. D'Argenson was truly, in this half-century, the first after the men of genius, and often preceded them.

D'Argenson set out, from an experimental fact, the economic inferiority of France, administered, save a few exceptions, by the officers of the central power, compared with countries administered by the local powers, and especially with republics. "France," he says, "is perhaps the only Christian country in which the police is intrusted to royal officers, who are in no manner responsible to the people, and who insult rather than pay deference to their complaints. This is readily perceived in travelling on our frontiers. There is no need of asking where the territory of France ends: the state of the roads, and of every thing that belongs to the public, makes it sufficiently perceptible." What remedy was to be offered for these abuses of arbitrary power, which deprived France of the benefits of the gifts of Nature? The limitation of the royal power by the States-General or the Provincial States?

[1] *Annales politiques*, 1717. — See, for all his other writings, *Ouvrages de Politique et de Morale*, by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre; Rotterdam, 1734-1741, eighteen vols. 12mo. See, concerning the *Entresol*, *Mém. de d'Argenson*.

No: the partition of the supreme authority was contrary to the nature of things. *Political philosophers* had vainly extolled the blending of the three monarchic, aristocratic, and democratic elements: one of the the three must always subordinate the rest. The public power should be *one and decided* in a republic as in a monarchy: in a republic, *all the suffrages should be united on one, and from this should proceed the other subordinate powers.* France being a monarchy, all the public power, all the movements of the body of the nation, should belong to the King and his officers; but all the local movements should belong to the localities: by this he meant the repairing of the roads, the apportionment of the taxes, etc., as well as the municipal interests; in a word, he demanded the abolition of the monarchical administration, and absolute administrative decentralization, while preserving political centralization.[1] He hoped in this manner to communicate to the monarchy the advantages of republics. This singular edifice would have had absolute royalty at its summit, and a multitude of petty democracies at its base. The provinces and the generalities, which formed bodies too large, and sometimes dangerous to the central authority, were to disappear, and to be replaced by *departments* of about two hundred parishes. Each department was to be intrusted to an intendant and to triennial sub-delegates, rather inspectors than administrators, invested with power to choose the municipal magistrates from a list sent by the commune, and also with power to remove them. The municipal magistrates (five at least for a commune) were to have the superintendence of all the administration, finances, and police, but without any litigating powers; litigation being wholly within the judicial jurisdiction. The neighboring communes could hold meetings for their common interests with the permission of the intendant (*conseils cantonnaux*).

D'Argenson desired freedom of trade within and without.

The system of *balloting* (lists presented by equals) was also to be applied to the choice of royal officers (this was borrowed from the Abbé de Saint-Pierre). The King was to abolish the vendibility of office; a scourge worse than the feudalism which it had replaced.

It was on the question of the nobility that D'Argenson was the

[1] We find in him the prototype of all the arguments against centralization. "Every thing is done badly and at a high price by the officers of the King. The public works would be kept in better repair, and at less expense, if a decree of the council were no longer needed to mend a broken step or stop a hole," etc.

most energetically and most radically innovating. This great lord of feudal origin, this minister of state, made a terrible reply to Boulainvilliers, and gave, half a century in advance, the signal for the *night of the 4th of August*. "Some will say that the principles of the present treatise, in favor of democracy, tend to the destruction of the nobility: *they will not be mistaken*. . . . It could be wished that all the country estates were owned only by those who would cultivate them themselves, and that all estates might be exempt from all duties, and conditions of service. . . . The obligatory redemption of all rights of suzerainty, manorial fees, and rights of the chase, should be authorized. . . . It is only necessary to lay aside the most stupid prejudice, to admit that two things are chiefly to be desired for the good of the State: one, that all the citizens shall be equal among themselves; the other,[1] that each one shall be the son of his works. The nobles are like drones in the hive."

A monarchy without nobility, without a judicial aristocracy, and without a *bureauocracy;* a royalty suspended without props, at an enormous height above a democratic society, — such, therefore, was the dream of D'Argenson, the illusion of a noble heart that sought to reconcile its traditional affections with its new ideas.[2] The political ideal was not destined to stop at this inconsistent position. After the absolute monarchy of Bossuet had come the aristocratic monarchy of Fénelon; after the latter, the democratic monarchy of D'Argenson; after the democratic monarchy, pure democracy was soon to arise with Rousseau. The doctrine of a conditional contract between the King and the people, such as D'Argenson enunciates,[3] is only a transition between the doctrine of the irremovable right of the King and that of the inalienable and always existing sovereignty of the people.

The characteristic of D'Argenson is that he is essentially French

[1] He makes a remarkable distinction between the real and the ideal by saying that we should *seek* absolute equality, though we can *never attain it* (p. 256).

[2] In theory, he prefers the republic. — See his *Mémoires*, t. III. p. 313; see page 312.

[3] It is curious to see this doctrine of the original contract, derogatory to the divine right, insinuate itself even into a diplomatic memorial from the court of Rome in 1736. It is said in this document, which indeed does not bear an official character, that "the Roman people, whose nature it has been from the most ancient times to be unable to accommodate themselves either to entire servitude or entire liberty, have submitted to the peaceful and elective government of the sovereign pontiffs, in order to have assurances of their safety, and of the preservation of public tranquillity." — See *Recueil de Rousset*, t. X.

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Ferdinand Pinx.
G.F. Schmidt Sculp.
NINON DE LENCLOS
Née à Paris. Morte le 17 Octobre 1705.
Agée de 90 ans 2.

in the truths as in the errors of his system.[1] There is not in him the slightest trace of foreign importation. He proceeded in no wise from that great current from beyond the Channel, which was beginning to inundate us, and which was soon to give us, between D'Argenson and Rousseau, the famous attempt of Montesquieu to systematize historic law.[2] Nothing is more truly French — and too much so — than the idea of unity and simplicity in government.

The *Entresol* appears to have been more circumspect in religion than in politics; and Bolingbroke did not give the tone therein in this respect. D'Argenson, on his part, did not quit Gallicanism, at least ostensibly; and broke with the faith of Bossuet only on the subject of tolerance, which was to him, as to his friend Saint-Pierre, a truly religious dogma. He has left, nevertheless, a significant saying: "Love God; distrust the priests."

The society of the *Entresol*, in being more conciliatory to religious than to political questions, did not follow the leading current of the times; for the great offensive movement of the philosophy of the eighteenth century attacked the spiritual power before the temporal power.

The extraordinary man who directed this movement, and who was, so to speak, the movement itself, had already entered for some years upon his renowned career, when the grave and peaceful attempt of the *Entresol* was made.

In 1707, a child of thirteen, full of vivacity, curiosity, and boldness, was presented to Ninon de l'Enclos, who was approaching the end of her long life. In the incomparable animation of his countenance; in his smile, full of grace, archness, menace, and attraction; in his eye, beaming with lightnings that pierced to the depths of the soul, — the aged Aspasia of the seventeenth century foresaw a great destiny. She wished to aid in the development of this young intellect, and bequeathed a legacy to the boy to purchase books. The child, who belonged to a family of the middle class in very easy circumstances, was educated in the Jesuit College (the College Louis-le-Grand), where he was the admiration of his professors through his literary faculties, and their terror through the independence of his character and ideas. One of them, Father Le Jai, predicted of him that he would be the

[1] The most salient of his errors is the absorption, in all degrees, of the legislative in the executive power.

[2] An attempt which is very far from belonging wholly to Montesquieu, as we shall see directly.

Corypheus of Deism in France. Ninon and Le Jai had both judged rightly. The successor of the *free-thinkers* of the past century, he was destined to reign over this little tribe, become an immense people, and to lead them to battle against his masters. The Jesuits, by one of those sublime mockeries of which history is full, had reared the two most formidable enemies of traditional authority, — DESCARTES and VOLTAIRE.[1] Voltaire was thus, from college, all that he was to be in the future. No man, through more external mobility, was ever at heart more faithful to himself.

On leaving college, introduced at the Temple, at the house of the Grand-Prior de Vendôme, and in the other societies where the spirit of Ninon ruled, and where men protested by the religion of pleasure against the gloomy devotion of Versailles, he became the disciple and imitator of the aged Abbé de Chaulieu, who was the poet and philosopher of this little epicurean world.[2] It was not the best entrance into life for a young man. These adversaries of Christianity had resumed the manners, like the opinions, of the decline of antiquity. Atheism, or absolute scepticism, existed among them on good terms with epicurean Deism; and the monstrous vices which at that time infected the court nobility were tolerated by these disciples of the *law of Nature*. Voltaire received a bent there that was never effaced. Personally above all suspicion as to degrading vices, he lost, at least, the natural sentiment of abhorrence that they inspire, and saw in them little more than a defect of taste, a subject for derision. His temperament and his mind, alike fastidious, preserved him from all excesses; but he admitted no other law of morality than a certain moderation in pleasure as in all things. Retrograding beyond the ideal of the Middle Ages, he confounded voluptuousness with love: to the asceticism which placed virtue in celibacy, in the negation of the law of life, he replied by a contrary exaggeration, excluding, in point of fact, the idea of virtue from whatever concerned the relations of the

[1] François Marie Arouet was born at Paris, February 20, 1694, and not, as was long believed, at Châtenai, near Sceaux. He was the son of an ex-notary, become treasurer of the Chamber of Accounts at Paris: his mother was a native of Poitiers. He took the name of Voltaire, on his entrance into the world, to distinguish him from his elder brother. It was a very general custom among the wealthy bourgeoisie to distinguish each son by the name of an estate: the same was sometimes done with the daughters.

[2] Another free-thinker, Châteauneuf, had introduced Voltaire both at the house of Ninon and at the Temple. Châteauneuf had cradled him, while a child, in infidelity. Voltaire, at three years of age, knew the *Mosaide* by heart; a piece of verse attributed to Jean Baptiste Rousseau, in which Moses was treated as an impostor. — See the *Vie de Voltaire* by the Abbé Duvernet, Geneva, 1788.

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Painted by N. De Largilliere — Engraved by F. T. Stuart after a Print by Cardieu

VOLTAIRE.

At the age of 24

sexes. All virtue was comprised, to him, in *doing good to mankind*, in aiding men to be as happy as possible in this life. From his earliest youth, he had reduced this morality to a system. He applied thereto an earnest conviction which never contradicted itself. The tolerance which he showed to dissoluteness of morals he never showed to injustice and to oppression; above all, to the oppression that takes religion for a pretext. A wretched and meanly cruel persecution was the first object that awakened his conscience. The edict of 1715 against the Protestants, and the *lettres de cachet* against the Jansenists, opened his eyes, and evoked in his memory the whole series of calamities inflicted on Europe by the religious quarrels, from the extermination of the Albigenses to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A passionate and implacable contempt and hatred of the fanaticism and hypocrisy that had rendered these quarrels so fatal to the human race, very different from the cold antipathy of Bayle, entered his soul. This contempt and hatred extended to the subjects themselves of these quarrels, lightly examined, and cast aside as absurd or incomprehensible. He did not stop, like Bayle, at universal doubt: he adopted the religion of Chaulieu, a God maintained by common sense in opposition to the universal negation of Atheism or absolute scepticism; a creative God, conscious of his creation, but not communicating with it, and imposing on man no other law than the very indulgent law of Nature. As to the immortality of the soul, he had nothing but confused ideas and doubts.[1]

This was a very poor and very sterile groundwork of faith. Voltaire was not long in attempting to add to it a philosophic conception of the order of creation; but his religious needs were not imperious enough to impose great efforts on him, or to lead him very far. An essentially active and polemic genius, with little depth and immense surface, he rejected what was profound like what was obscure, what was abstract like what was subtle, and turned with instinctive repugnance from every thing that was mysterious. His mind, always eager to live outside of itself, and to diffuse itself in things in order to modify and transform them, offered a radical opposition to the father of modern philosophy, Descartes; and it was through this very opposition, the foundation of his incompleteness, but also of his strength, that Voltaire became the king of his age. The inheritor of Bayle's aversion to systems and hypotheses, he carried it so far as to condemn all investigation of causes, all dogmatic affirmation, save the first

[1] See the *Épître à M. de la Faluère*, 1710.

cause, verified through its effects by a sort of empiricism. He scarcely ever quitted the visible and the palpable. Through the absence of the metaphysical and synthetical faculties, and through the extreme power of the critical spirit in his intellectual organization, practical reason, which was really his distinctive stamp, was divorced in him, and in all the philosophy of his time, from pure reason. Sentiment was separate, in his soul, from the ideal and the infinite, and had nothing but the finite, the present life and humanity, for its end. He believed in God through good sense, rather than through sentiment. "God is to him," it has been said with much justice, "rather a truth than a being: he comprehends his necessity; he does not seem to feel his presence."[1]

The qualities of his heart were in harmony with those of his mind: like arduous and abstract meditations, profound and concentrated passions were unknown to him. His sensibility was unceasingly at work for every one and every thing. Self-conscious, after the manner of women and poets, that is, of nervous organizations, but not at all selfish; with a hand and heart always open; irritable and generous; vindictive, and ready to pity, — vivacity took the place of depth in his feelings as in his ideas; but, by a gift most rare, vivacity did not exclude duration in his affections, any more than a certain distrustful timidity, the result of an organic delicacy that was susceptible to the most trifling impressions, excluded a firm courage of mind, and a will steadfastly devoted to the triumph of his convictions. From the beginning, he had discerned a twofold end, of which he never lost sight through the weaknesses, failings, and tempests of his life, — to oppose what he judged to be wrong, and to win renown: the interest of humanity and the interest of his ambition were never separated in his thought. It was impossible to demand of such a nature, wholly militant and wholly external, semi-political and semi-artistic, the indifference to worldly things of a Descartes or a Spinoza. We are about to witness the working of the literary faculties which he employed in the service of his pretensions and opinions. As is the case with all first-rate writers, he modified the forms of speech as well as the substance of ideas. The clearness of his thought, that seems to play on surfaces inundated with sunshine; his light and sparkling style; his airy and charming turn of expression; his hatred of whatever was bombastic, pretentious, and affected; his exquisite taste in simplicity; his subtleness in truth; his inexhaustible fluency; his infinite flexibility of

[1] E. Bersot, *Liberté de penser* of December 15, 1847.

mind,—were qualities at once essentially French, and essentially adapted to the objects pursued by Voltaire.

He had begun his career by a few bad odes, a rhetorical exercise, and by some familiar, amorous, and satirical verses full of fire and ease, which won for him an early experience of the abuses of arbitrary power. Banished a first time from Paris by *lettre de cachet* in 1716, he was thrown into the Bastille, in the following year, by the *indulgent* Regency, just as the Jansenist prisoners had quitted it. A very caustic piece of verse against the memory of the late King was imputed to him; a piece which was actually the work of a Jansenist. He remained under lock and key until the Regent, at last convinced of his innocence, ordered him to be set at liberty with a sort of pecuniary indemnity (April 10, 1718). This year of captivity had not been lost by young Arouet. He had employed it in numerous works; and scarcely was he free, when he launched upon the French stage his tragedy of *Œdipus*, written almost immediately after leaving college, and revised in the silence of the Bastille. It was the opening of his career. He was twenty-four. The success was prodigious. On beholding the reappearance of the sparkling verse, the brilliant imagery, the vivacity and harmony of style, that had been already long unknown to the stage, men fancied that Corneille and Racine were about to reappear. They were mistaken. It was not in grand poetry that Voltaire was to manifest his true genius, and all that marvellous assemblage of brilliant qualities which we have just pointed out. The tragic poetry of Voltaire has only a false air of Racinian elegance and Cornelian strength. His often declamatory force lacks depth and solidity, his elegance lacks purity and precision: almost dazzling, high-sounding improprieties, and the excessive use of the periphrasis, ill disguise the looseness of his thought and style. The absence of all sentiment of the antique, so well proved by his *Letter on Sophocles*, which served as a commentary to *Œdipus*, was not the smallest objection to be made to Voltaire. It was not only the antique, the genius of the primitive times, but the very foundation of poetry, that Voltaire was never to comprehend. His intellect, wholly diffused in external things, was not permitted to know the inspiration drawn from the eternal springs of the soul, or the mysteries of that divine symbolism which connects the visible with the invisible world, and which is the essence of poetry. As to that which is not the essence, but the form, of poetry, — the art of verse, — this art is so difficult in our language, that it demands the whole man; and Voltaire

only gave it a part of himself, the smallest part. Every thing savors in Voltaire — and this applies to all his plays — of the haste of a man who is conscious of a thousand other thoughts at the very moment when he seizes the tragic lyre: he does not take the art in earnest; it is only a brilliant play of his imagination.[1] There is but one thing in it that seems to him important, — the opportunity to launch his ideas, and to convert them into maxims in lofty verse for the use of the masses: he knows how to make this verse beautiful and strong, and he pours his whole soul therein. There are lines in *Œdipus* that history will never forget.

> "Our priests are not what a vain people think;
> Our credulity makes all their science!"

It was the unfurling of the flag at the first gun of a first battle; it was the signal for a sixty-years' war!

The whole piece already revealed the tactics to which Voltaire was to remain faithful almost all his life, — to attack the priests while sparing the kings, to oppose the temporal power to the spiritual power. The attack here was only indirect; and it was through the priests of Jupiter that he struck the Catholic clergy; but his idea was set forth unmasked in his *Epistle to Urania*, composed from 1720 to 1721, which was for a long time circulated in manuscript before appearing under the pseudonyme of the defunct Abbé de Chaulieu. This epistle collects with much brilliancy and spirit the strongest objections to positive theology, in the name of natural and rational Deism. It is a veritable Deistic confession of faith. In ideas, it does not exceed Chaulieu and the ancient *free-thinkers;* but there is in it a life and an ardent unreservedness wholly new.

Another philosophical *début* closely followed that of Voltaire. A new combatant, five years older than the author of *Œdipus*, appeared in the arena. The latter belonged to the nobility of the robe, — a provincial magistrate, the fellow-countryman of Montaigne, by the name of Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu. If he approached Voltaire in some respects in tendencies, he differed widely from him in character. A studious and profound observer, a more nervous and concise than fluent writer, he was as calm as Voltaire was impetuous. He loved pleasure, and par-

[1] See the characteristic anecdote related by Condorcet. — *Vie de Voltaire.* At a representation of *Œdipus*, he amused himself by bearing the train of the high priest! The Marshal de Villars asked who that young man was that was trying to kill the piece.

ticipated, to a certain degree, in the manners of his times; but even love disturbed neither the equableness of his temper nor the peace of his soul: there was no vexation to him that an hour's reading would not dissipate. Benevolent to all men, but without going so far as passion for any thing or any one, he condemned evil and error, sometimes with the piercing irony of a moralist, sometimes with the serene gravity of a judge, instead of combating them, like Voltaire, with the vehemence of a personal enemy. All his intellectual and moral faculties, like the large features of his regular, fine, and strong face, presented a perfect equilibrium. Mind was the essential characteristic therein. In Voltaire, passion had as much place as mind: it may even be said that it took the first place, and that it made the mind an instrument of indefatigable activity. Voltaire scarcely comprehended that it was possible to know for the sake of knowing, to think for the sake of thinking. It was not the same with Montesquieu. Daring in the criticism of opinions and beliefs, Montesquieu professed at the same time an admiration for antiquity, and, in general, a respect for facts considered in themselves, which Voltaire by no means possessed. He was much less disposed than the latter to proclaim the superiority of the present over the past, and of the contemporary effeminacy over the virile simplicity of the ancients. More of a generalizer of facts than of ideas, though he sometimes made great inroads into the intellectual world, more of a politician than a metaphysician, yet more of a metaphysician than his contemporaries, he relished history for itself, to verify results from it *à posteriori*, and not to seek in it the proof of a theme ready made; a characteristic which was peculiar to him in the eighteenth century. In history he attached himself especially to laws, the expression of the genius of nations.

A theological question, well chosen and treated philosophically, was the first effort of his pen, about 1709. At twenty, he wrote letters affirming that the idolatry of the ancients did not deserve eternal damnation. This little work has remained unpublished. At twenty-five, he became counsellor; at twenty-seven, president of the parliament of Bordeaux. His inclination for the study of law seemed to promise a great magistrate; but there was little of importance to be done in the parliament of Bordeaux, and, moreover, Montesquieu loved the law only in books. He had neither the taste nor the talent for practice. A singular timidity rendered it almost impossible for him to speak in public: his ideas needed to be long digested, wrought over, and condensed, in order

to gush forth in his forcible sobriety; and he could never resolve to dilute them in a flow of words. He hesitated for some time concerning his true vocation; then, yielding to a tendency which was beginning to be that of the age, he turned to the natural sciences, and conceived the plan of a *Physical History of the Ancient and Modern Earth*,— a colossal and premature project, the first elements even for which did not yet exist (1718-1719). Reason caused him speedily to abandon it; but his geographical and physiological studies bore their fruits elsewhere, and stamped a characteristic imprint on the great work of his life.

Instead of a great work on cosmology, it was a novel that revealed Montesquieu to the literary world. The *Persian Letters* was printed in Holland in 1721. The form was piquant, light, animated by pictures, the freedom of which was not surpassed by the younger Crébillon. The substance was very grave, and touched on all serious things. Under the cover of two Persian travellers, who judged France and Christianity after their own fashion, the author permitted himself all kinds of liberties. It was the first book in which was outlined that alliance between critical philosophy and lax morality[1] which had hitherto appeared only in the verses of the modern Epicureans, and which Voltaire was destined to develop so largely. In the *Persian Letters*, however, the license scarcely goes below the surface: it is, so to speak, a dress rendered necessary by the taste of the Regency. There is little in it censurable in principle, except the opinion on divorce. Montesquieu considers marriage from a low standpoint; and, in his vehement reaction against the laws that prescribe indissoluble union, he seems, in some sort, to take as the rule that power of dissolving the conjugal tie which should be only an exception necessitated by human imperfection, a *necessary evil*. In another class of questions, he also emits ideas, concerning the lawfulness of suicide, incompatible with all religious law (Let. lxxvi.).

The *two Persians* pass in review, with full liberty, politics, religion, all society. "The King of France is a great magician: he persuades his subjects that a piece of paper is silver (paper-money); . . . that he cures them all by touching them (of the king's evil). . . . There is another magician stronger than he, who is not less the ruler of his mind than he himself is of that of others. This magician is called the Pope. Sometimes he

[1] It is understood, of course, that we speak only of that part of morality which refers to the relations of the sexes.

causes it to be believed that *three make but one;*[1] that the bread which is eaten is not bread, or that the wine which is drunk is not wine, etc. . . . The Pope is an old idol, to whom men burn incense through habit" (Let. xxix.).

The audacity is not less with respect to persons than to beliefs. The squabbles between the aged Louis XIV. and his young ministers and old *mistress* (Madame de Maintenon) are commented on with the most irreverent wit. After such temerity, the running fire of jests which the author pours on both the Bull *Unigenitus* and the theological disputes, and all the political, religious, and literary institutions of the kingdom, must count as trifles; but it is not so with another assertion, which crowns all his liberties: "It is impossible for the Catholic religion to endure five hundred years longer in Europe. The Protestants will become richer and more powerful, and the Catholics weaker" (Let. cxvii.). One of the reasons that he assigns for this is the celibacy of the ecclesiastics. He condemns the vows of continence, not only through moral and social reasons which exist in all times, but through a practical reason which proceeds from an erroneous opinion,—the pretended increasing depopulation of the globe: this idea arose, in him, from an insufficient study of antiquity.

He finally gives his religious conclusion with sufficient perspicuity: "The surest way to please God is to observe the laws of society and the duties of charity and humanity. As to ceremonies, there is room for great discussion; for it is necessary to choose the ceremonies of a religion from among those of two thousand" (Let. xlvi.).

In politics, he expresses much sympathy and respect for republics. He extols their superior comfort and wealth, and the liberty and equality that rule in them: he places in them the sanctuary of *honor* like that of *virtue*, which proves that he had not yet adopted the future categories of the *Spirit of Laws:* he says that monarchy always degenerates into a despotism or into a

[1] Letter xxiv. Voltaire did not fail to take up and make the most of this jest on the Trinity, which proves only one thing; namely, that the fundamental problems of theodicy and ontology had again become a sealed book to the most eminent minds, from the death of Bossuet and Leibnitz: as if the poor human intellect could never embrace at once but one side of things, and ceased to discern the world of ideas as soon as it attached itself to the study of the physical world. Another passage of the *Lettres Persanes* in opposition to the divine prescience is also very superficial. By way of compensation, there are strong arguments in favor of the eternity of the creation.—Letter cxiii.

republic (Let. lxxxix., cii., cxxii.). He thinks it absurd to investigate with so much care the origin of societies, mankind being all allied by birth. "A son is born after his father, and he attaches importance to it, — such is the origin of society" (Let. xciv.). "Vanity," he says elsewhere, "has established the unjust right of the eldest" (Let. cxix.). Here it is conscience that speaks: later, the spirit of tradition, respect for facts, would speak louder on this point than conscience. Although he cites the modern republics, Switzerland and Holland, antiquity is, above all, his ideal. He is strongly in favor of paternal authority, — he, so lax concerning marriage: he does not wish the established laws to be touched "except with a trembling hand." He blames the French for having abandoned their ancient laws (the laws of the Franks) to adopt *foreign* laws, — the Roman law and the canonical law; as if the laws of the Germans would have been more national in Gaul than the laws of the Romans. In this false historical point of view, he approaches Boulainvilliers: he sees more justly on another point of fact, when he shows, in antiquity, all the West divided into republics. He clearly perceives that it is by an abuse of words that the title of King is given to the chiefs of the Gauls and the Germans. He was, in this respect, far in advance of contemporary science. "Liberty," he says, "seems made for Europe; servitude, for Asia" (Let. cxxxi.–cxxxvi.). The theory of climates is found here in the germ.

From the tone of the book, and from certain tendencies, Montesquieu might be suspected of materialism: this is erroneous; he believed in general ideas. "Justice," he says, "is the harmony that *really* exists between two things: this harmony is always the same, whatever being it concerns, whether God, angel, or man. Justice is eternal, and does not depend on human agreements" (Let. xxxiii.). Thus the idea of justice is eternal and absolute. Whatever might be his apparent inconsistencies, metaphysician as he was only by flashes, he was spiritualistic at heart. It was fitting that it should be in the notion of justice that the future author of the *Spirit of Laws* should reveal his true philosophical faith.

The *Persian Letters* appeared in the midst of the stupefaction caused by the fall of the *System*. It was one of those moments in which men may venture on any thing. The Regency welcomed this formidable work as an amusing book, whose lively coloring, sprightly tone, and sparkling sallies, had no model in the past century. The form saved the substance. It was agreed that weapons so light could not wound: none sought to examine their

temper. No one troubled this witty president, who redeemed the temerity of his pen by the decorum of his language and conduct, while Voltaire aggravated the sins of his verse by his attitude in society, and by the petulance of his speeches. When, a few years later, Montesquieu knocked at the door of the French Academy, it sufficed, to disarm the opposition of Fleuri, for him to reject the most daring liberties of the book, concerning the *infidelity of the editors of Holland;* a resource of which Voltaire was destined to make great use in his turn, and to present to the aged cardinal an *expurgated* copy (1727). The unfortunate Abbé de Saint-Pierre had been excluded from the Academy for much less, and Voltaire was to have far more difficulty in entering it.

In the interval, Montesquieu had written a kind of mythological and amorous novel, somewhat in the affected style of Fontenelle; a style still much in fashion, and which was only to disappear altogether before the exquisite simplicity and free vein of Voltaire (*The Temple of Gnidus*, 1725). Montesquieu was not destined to repeat these concessions to the reigning frivolity. He had sold his office in 1726. He set out the following year for the purpose of travelling through Europe to observe manners and institutions elsewhere than in books, and slowly to prepare materials for a great work which already filled his thoughts. We shall meet him again. It is time to return to Voltaire, that much more active and fertile genius, the beginning only of whose career we have as yet pointed out, but who thenceforth marked each season by new creations, and whose vein was not to become exhausted for more than half a century.

After making room for himself with éclat in the domain of Corneille and Racine, Voltaire had conquered, or thought that he had conquered, an unoccupied territory in the empire of French poetry, — the epic poem. The public thought so likewise when the *Henriade* appeared, scarcely finished, from a manuscript stolen from the author, and published, without his consent, at London and Rouen (1723). Both author and public were mistaken. The genius of Voltaire and his times were the one as little epic as the other. The true epic poem is the heroic poem in which are concentrated the traditional songs of a people that has as yet no history. France had one of these poems, buried for centuries beneath innumerable imitations and transformations, which has been unearthed in our days, — the *Song of Roland.* The epic poem is also the religious poem which sums up a complete conception of human destiny in this world and in the next: such are

the works of Dante and Milton. Tasso, who collected the religious and warlike traditions of the Middle Ages, when the Middle Ages had just expired, is also epic in an inferior degree. Voltaire is outside of all this. He simply takes the history of yesterday, political history, and adorns it, through respect for rules, with a conventional marvellousness, half Christian, half allegorical, but, above all, mortally frigid, and as uninteresting to the author as to the reader. The historical part of the poem, freed from this veneering, is judiciously conceived and boldly drawn; and it does not lack strong thoughts any more than fine verses, although there is still a little looseness and prosaicism in the general woof of the style. The true merit of the *Henriade* is in the subject. Here, no more than in tragedy or in any other work, is art the end of art to Voltaire. The apotheosis of the humane and tolerant hero, the author of the Edict of Nantes; the energetic war, brilliant to fanaticism; the incitement to princes to follow the example of Henri IV. rather than of Louis XIV., — this is the whole *Henriade*. An eloquent protest against the Revocation rises tacitly from the whole poem, in spite of the circumspection which the author has imposed on himself towards the Roman religion and the memory of Louis the Great. The bold portrait of papal Rome (canto iv.) sufficiently indicates his true thought; and, when he makes one of his personages say, —

"I make no decision between Geneva and Rome!"

we feel that he condemns both.[1]

Voltaire had attained, if not his literary aim, at least his philosophical aim. He had attained it so perfectly, that the *Henriade* remade the popularity of Henri IV., already obscured by time and the splendors of the Great Reign. Thanks to him, this popularity, justified, explained, and adopted by the new generations, survived the monarchy, and will survive all vicissitudes.

Hitherto, if Voltaire had had serious reason to complain of the government, life, in every other respect, had been happy and easy to him. Adopted and caressed by the fashionable world, whither he was attracted by the need of agitating, shining, and pleasing, he had known nothing of this society except its charms: he soon experienced its inequality and iniquity. He had chastised by biting sarcasms the impertinence of a Chevalier de Rohan-Chabot.

[1] In canto vii. he denies, although with some hesitation, the damnation of heathens and voluptuous persons.

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One day, when Voltaire was dining with the Duke de Sulli, De Rohan caused him to be summoned to the street under some pretext, and beaten by his lackeys. Voltaire entreated the Duke de Sulli to aid him in obtaining satisfaction. The Duke had treated him as a friend for ten years; but the point in question was to support a plebeian against a great noble, and he refused. Voltaire challenged the Chevalier de Rohan. The chevalier joined to insolence — a vice too common among the French nobility — a vice very rare in this caste, — cowardice. Instead of fighting, he obtained a *lettre de cachet* from *Monsieur le Duc*, which sent his adversary to the Bastille.[1] He was speedily released, but with orders to quit Paris. He quitted France, and retired to England (1726).

This was a decisive epoch in his life, — his hegira in some sort. Here all that was germinating within him grew, and assumed a definitive form on many points; here he forged and tempered his weapons. England did not determine the direction of his mind, perfectly determined from his first step in life; but she furnished him all the instruments of action, except the one that set all the others at work, — his pen, so essentially French.

It would need this pen itself to express the lively and tumultuous impressions produced on the exiled poet by the aspect of this society, so different from our own. He had been very imperfectly prepared for this spectacle by his intimacy with an illustrious English outlaw, who had dwelt for some years in France, and who had just been recalled to his native country, — Lord Bolingbroke. The Tory exile spoke of his native island with the ill-humor of an unsuccessful man. It is true that English politics were not worthy of admiration at this moment, under Walpole; but the nation was nevertheless displaying a powerful intellectual and material activity, and the institutions were subsisting, although their working was perverted by corruption. The predominant features of English society, those at least which effaced all others in the eyes of Voltaire, were the application of the human mind to facts, to nature, and to perceptible phenomena; the tendency to practical utility, comfort and wealth; the respect for liberty of thought, and for individual liberty; and, lastly, the political

[1] It is said that *Monsieur le Duc* was informed, in order to persuade him to this, that Voltaire was paying court to Madame de Prie. — *Vie de Voltaire* (by Duvernet), p. 61, 1786. The great nobles were much surer of impunity under Louis XV. than under Louis XIV. — See, in the *Journal de Barbier*, t. II. pp. 18, 42, the scandalous story of the Marquis de Laigle.

and social importance of men of letters and scholars. Voltaire knew already that Locke and Newton had filled high offices since 1688, that Swift and Prior had played an important part under Queen Anne, and that Addison had just been minister under George I.; but what was his emotion when he saw the remains of Newton borne to Westminster Abbey, the royal sepulchre, by an immense procession, led by all the English aristocracy, the lord-chancellor and the ministers at the head! In France, Louis XIV. had not even granted a tomb to Descartes! . . . As to liberty, however deeply rooted social inequality might have been in England, the most powerful of the peers of the kingdom would not even have conceived of the possibility of effecting against the most obscure citizen what the Chevalier de Rohan, a personage everywhere in disrepute, had effected against the most eminent writer possessed by France. The earnest and learned polemic, that had been prolonged since the times of William III., between the Deistical or sceptical philosophers on the one hand, and the Protestant defenders of the Christian revelation on the other, attested the abolition of all preventive censorship. The adversaries of revealed religion had nothing to fear, should they exceed certain bounds, but the verdicts of the popular tribunal, the jury; verdicts seldom severe, and very rarely solicited by the public prosecution.[1]

We can neither be astonished at, nor impute as a crime to Voltaire, an admiration and sympathy very natural in a man, who, cruelly wounded by arbitrary power, suddenly found himself transported into a system of free discussion and legality. These sentiments, unhappily, were destined to carry him too far, and too often to weaken in him the spirit of nationality. He passed nearly three years in thoroughly impregnating himself with England. He studied at once, with the same ardor, the language, which he soon possessed thoroughly enough to write books in English, and the double English literature, — the ancient, that of Shakspeare and Milton,[2] sublime, inspired, and mingled with a little barbarism; and the modern, that of Addison, Pope, and Thomson, sage, correct, rich in talent, but not in genius, an imi-

[1] On England since 1688, see the admirable studies of M. Villemain: *Tableau de la littérature française au dix-huitième siècle*, part I. t. i., leç. v., vi., vii.

[2] He first revealed these two immortal geniuses to France. "Milton," he says in the *Essai sur la poésie épique*, which serves as a commentary to the *Henriade*, — "Milton does as much honor to England as the great Newton." Without rendering as full justice to Shakspeare, who shocked him on too many points, he nevertheless felt his greatness.

tation of the age of Louis XIV.: it was Boileau transported beyond the Channel, without Molière and Racine. He studied the general movement of society; the progress of commerce and the industrial arts; the sciences so energetically launched in the way of observation and experiment; the discussions of the numerous religious sects, which no longer disturbed the State since the State tolerated them all; but especially the books of the common adversaries of all the sects, — of those *free-thinkers*, who did not content themselves, like the *free-thinkers* of France, with throwing out a few eloquent or ingenious treatises, a few well-aimed verses, like light troops, but who made their attack in a solid phalanx, with huge books, by erudition and reasoning; a critical school, which was not a solitary monster, like the philosophy of Hobbes, but which proceeded naturally, if not always legitimately, from free examination, liberated from the last reservation that had been respected by the boldest of the Protestant sects, even the Socinians and the Unitarians.

Political liberty would have seemed naturally the principal care of Voltaire, so maltreated by monarchical despotism. He received, in fact, a strong bent in this direction; but the general and habitual impulse of his mind continued to tend elsewhere. His soul, so easily influenced by vanity in trifles, was, at the bottom, too spontaneous, too entire, too true in its nature, for any interest, any private resentment, to change its essential aims. It was his conviction that the essential evil to nations was less in the power of the princes than in that of the priests; that priestly *fanaticism* had given birth to the calamities of which kings had been only the instruments. To overthrow *fanaticism* by the philosophy of common sense and by the experimental sciences, which, according to him, overturn the imaginary data on which fanaticism is based, — such was, in his eyes, the greatest glory that could be given to genius, the greatest revolution that could be effected in the world. All else was only accessory, and would come in due time.

He had arrived in England with something more than a vague belief in God, grafted on scepticism: he had a system, but this had already been furnished him by England. We have spoken elsewhere[1] of the *optimism* of Leibnitz: it was a complete theory, embracing the whole essence of things, all the destinies of all beings in their series of transformations. The English Deists, Shaftesbury[2] and Bolingbroke, had appropriated this theory while

[1] See the *Age of Louis XIV.* vol. II. p. 243.

[2] The grandson of the celebrated chancellor of this name, and the author of the *Characteristics*, published in 1711.

mutilating it: they had stricken out the fundamental principles, the part relative to the development of beings in future states of existence, and the monadology, or conception of the essence of beings, as things into which man does not need to inquire, so long as his mind cannot attain certainty thereon; and had retained the external part, all that applies to the order of visible nature and the present life. Nature, according to them, is the work of a God, whose existence we are to recognize without undertaking to acquire any notion of his attributes; whom we are, in a word, to salute only as a First Cause. Nature is all that it can and ought to be: science consists solely in observing the organization of things, and drawing rules from our observation applicable to human actions. The world is the best world possible. But what of evil? — evil mixed with all things in this world. There is no evil: what we call so contributes to the universal order.

The negation of evil is admissible, on condition of connecting the invisible with the visible world by a chain which reaches from the humblest monad to God, and embracing, by bold hypotheses, the whole destinies of man before and after this life; yet difficulties still remain which we are unable to resolve. Applied only to the present life, to the order of things directly within the limits of observation, while setting aside all theodicy, all metaphysics, all conception of the soul, this doctrine is absolutely untenable; it can satisfy none but the happy of the earth, justifying their selfishness by sophistry; or young and volatile minds, plunged in the illusions of the morning of life: it shocks the good sense and instinct of man quite as much as did stoicism *formerly*, and without power, like it, to win respect by moral greatness.

Voltaire, meanwhile, the advocate of common sense and practical reason, had accepted *naturalistic optimism* from the hands of Bolingbroke. He had not accepted it forever: the justness of his mind and the humanity of his heart would afterwards react against this cold and mocking theory, and plunge him into extreme perplexity; but for the present he professed it with enthusiasm. He saw in it, above all, the justification of the Creator against the Atheists, — a *natural religion* opposed at once to the bigots and the absolute sceptics, — and closed his eyes to all else. Intoxicated with youth and life, despite his misadventures and the inconveniences of a constitution that always remained delicate, he found it so sweet to live, that he wished to persuade himself that no one was sufficiently disinherited by Nature to have a right to think otherwise.

He had, therefore, or believed that he had, a system, and proceeded to seek the proofs of it, — the positive proofs in the study of the immutable laws of the world, as they are revealed by the natural sciences; the negative proofs in the philosophy, whether critical or sensualistic, which attacked the bases of theology and metaphysics: for he aspired to make war on Descartes as well as on the Church. He saw that pure reason had not succeeded in modifying the social world; he felt that it had not satisfactorily explained the physical world; and his critical sense perceived certain gaps, species of breaches, even in the metaphysical bases of Cartesianism. In his reaction, legitimate in the beginning, but carried to a blind excess, he contested, therefore, to pure reason, not only what it had usurped, — the rash construction of the world, *à priori*, — but what lawfully belonged to it, — the methodical basis, the affirmation of the mind through itself, and of the being through thought. Two men in England furnished him what he asked, — Locke and Newton.[1] *The Principles of Natural Philosophy* inspired him with passionate admiration. Newton's magnificent explanation of the order of Nature was well adapted to captivate his lively imagination. This great hypothesis, which reduces to a single notion all the celestial movements, and which time and experience would simply confirm, made him fail to recognize that there had been something still greater in having discovered, like Descartes, not only a vast systemization of motion, but the unity itself of inorganic nature, by showing in motion the source of all the phenomena, of all the modifications of extension (light, heat, sound, and, tacitly, electricity); a progress before which Newton had recoiled in his theory of light. Voltaire made no distinction, in the physics of Descartes, between the true principle and the erroneous applications, — the result of an insufficient study of phenomena; and, rather than seek to rectify Descartes by Newton and Huyghens in physics, and by Leibnitz in metaphysics, he undertook to destroy him by Newton and Locke; thinking thus to substitute reality for visions, and experiment for arbitrary dogmatism. It was by the spirit of observation that Locke, as well as Newton, had captivated him. He summoned therefore, at once to his aid, the English Deists, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Toland, Tindal, Collins, and Wollaston, to overthrow positive theology; Newton, to subvert Cartesian physics instead of rectifying them; and Locke, to overturn metaphysics

[1] See the indication of their systems in the *Age of Louis XIV.* vol. II. pp. 228, 229, 244, 246.

instead of enriching them by psychological observation, which was what he should have borrowed from Locke. He was armed now against all dogmatism.[1]

The order of banishment which rested upon Voltaire, and which the Rohans had had influence enough to cause Cardinal de Fleuri to maintain after the fall of *Monsieur le Duc*, was finally revoked at the beginning of 1729, through the intervention of the Minister of the Marine, Maurepas. The formidable exile returned, carrying in his brain the immense arsenal that was to provide for fifty years of warfare. Voltaire was replaced at London by the author of the *Persian Letters*, who, after exploring Italy, Germany, and Holland, went to study in England the movement of a mixed government and the working of public liberty.

The full mind of Voltaire overflowed like a torrent in all directions. First came the tragedy of *Brutus*, the fruit of his political impressions (1730). In this there is not only brilliancy, as in *Œdipus*, but a real tragic force, energetic sentiments expressed with eloquence, in default of poetry. The curtain falls on sublime verse that would have been acknowledged by the great Corneille,—the Corneille of the *Horaces*. In *Œdipus*, Voltaire had attacked the priests: here he valiantly attacks the kings. The expulsion of a perjured king, an antique 1688, is justified on the stage of Paris.

"He gives us back our oaths when he betrays his own."

The poet even goes beyond the constitutional doctrine of the contract, and makes his heroes deny the inviolability of kings, and proclaim the right of the people to change their laws. These bold sayings passed under cover of the toga and the Roman names. Nevertheless, the censorship bestirred itself when Voltaire would have put upon the stage, in the same spirit, the second *Brutus* after the first; and it was long forbidden to act, and even to print, the *Death of Cæsar*, an imitation of Shakspeare, greatly diluted, but still beautiful and lofty.

In the same year in which *Brutus* appeared, Voltaire aroused new hatreds by his elegy on the *Death of Mademoiselle de Lecouvreur*, that celebrated tragedian whom he had loved, and to whom

[1] See the admirable article of M. Pierre Leroux on VOLTAIRE, in the *Encyclopédie nouvelle;* and his article, BOLINGBROKE, *id.* We know of nothing so profound, with some reservations concerning the different periods of the moral life of Voltaire, which do not appear as strongly marked to us as to M. Leroux.

the clergy had refused sepulture. Voltaire, who remembered having seen the tomb of Miss Oldfield, at Westminster Abbey, among those of kings and great men, broke forth with generous indignation against the prejudice which stigmatized in France the interpreters of Corneille and Racine, and which had outraged even the remains of the great Molière.[1] The clergy expressed so much irritation, that Voltaire thought himself obliged to quit Paris, for fear of a new *lettre de cachet*. He returned with *Zaïre* (1732), and put himself under the protection of a prodigious success. More negligent in style than *Brutus*, which, nevertheless, itself retains much unevenness and prosaicism, but full of interest through the situations and characters, this drama of love strongly moved the women, and won through them the spectators that had remained almost insensible to the virile accents of *Brutus*. *Zaïre*, like the *Death of Cæsar*, proceeded from Shakspeare: *Orosmanes* was only an *Othello* reduced to the stature of the Parisian public of 1732.

A little work of mingled prose and verse was detached, meanwhile, from the current that came from England,—the *Temple of Taste*, a charming and serious piece of badinage, sparkling with the most delicate essence of the French spirit, or what may be styled the grace of good sense (1733). Voltaire here equals La Fontaine: there is as exquisite a simplicity in the elegant subtlety of the one as in the ingenuousness of the other. In an artistic point of view, it was in familiar poetry alone that Voltaire attained perfection: he realized therein the ideal of French conversation.

During these literary creations, he had prepared a work of the greatest importance, not only in extent, but in scope, and which was no longer merely the reflection, but the direct exposition, of the ideas that he had drawn from England. After two years of hesitation, the *Philosophical Letters on the English*, announced, and expected with restless curiosity, were printed clandestinely in 1734. There was reason, indeed, to hesitate before taking such a step. Men were no longer under the Regency, and there was not here, as a safeguard, the frivolous garb of the *Persian Letters*.

The *Letters on the English* rapidly and incompletely, but very vividly, pass in review the religion, politics, philosophy, and literature of England. The first four letters, on the Quakers, show

[1] To appreciate the gravity of this question, it must be remembered that sepulture, like certificates of birth and marriage, depended exclusively on the clergy.

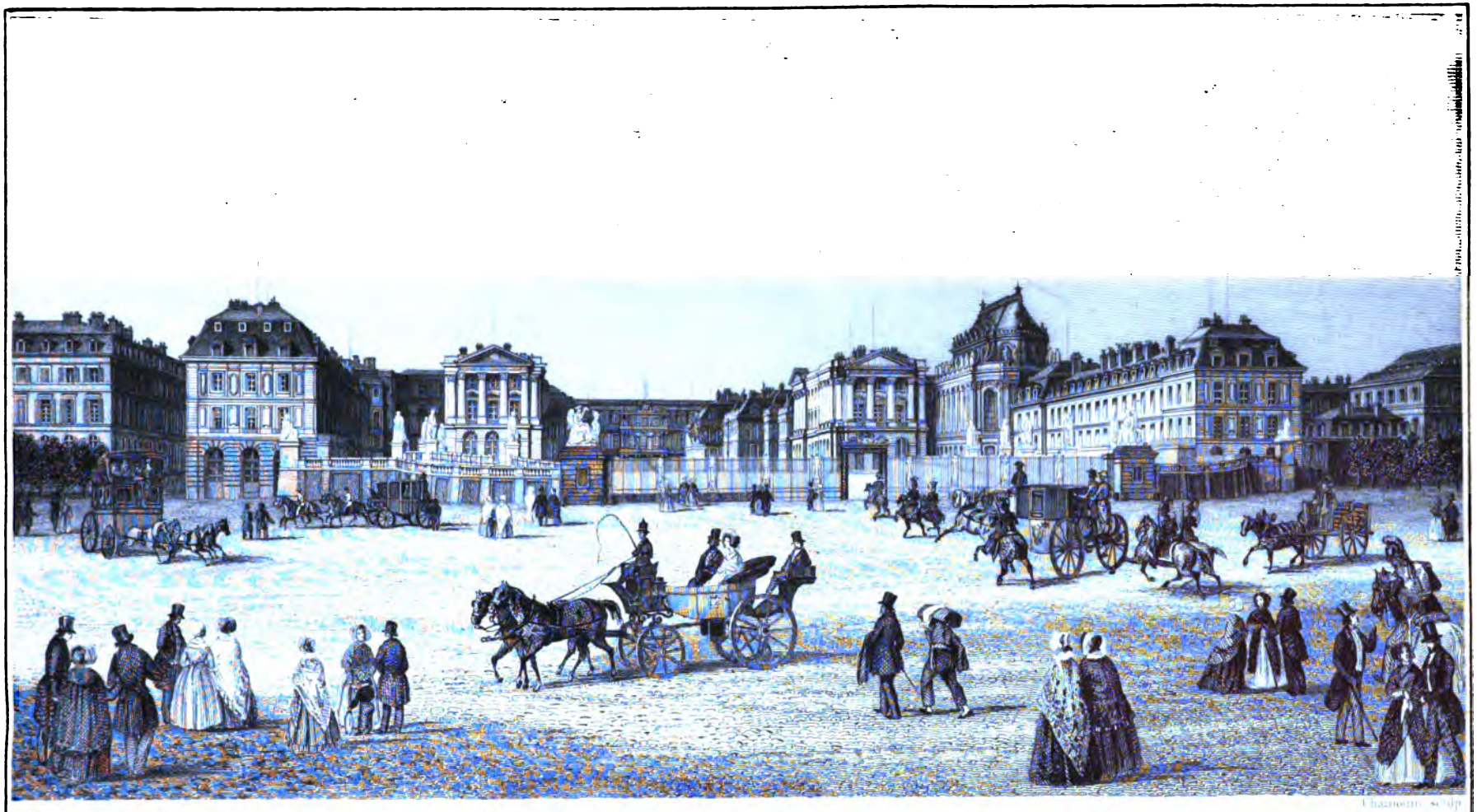
a church without sacraments or priests, and, in the manifest opinion of the author, more Christian than any other.

In the Letters on the *parliament* and the *government*, Voltaire strongly eulogizes the mixed government, in which the power of kings has been regulated by resisting them; and proves that, in a mixed government, three powers are needed, and not two. "The English," he says, "have not paid too dearly for their liberty by their civil wars." He expresses himself very freely concerning the death of Charles I., "who was treated by his conquerors as he would have treated them if he had been successful." He replies indirectly to Boulainvilliers, the panegyrist of feudalism, by plainly treating the feudal barons as *plunderers* and *brigands*, and by showing the difference between the feudalism of the Middle Ages and the modern English aristocracy, — a governing class which is not an association of petty sovereigns, and which has preserved neither distinctions in justice, nor privileges with respect to taxation.[1] He shows that there is no real nobility in England but the peers of the kingdom, the younger sons of whom become merchants; while in France the meanest Gascon squire despises men in trade. He admirably estimates the consequences of this opposition of customs to the power and wealth of the two countries: he also sees the advantage to serious study of this parliamentary government, which forces the best minds of the nation to learn to speak and write on public affairs. It is the counterpart of the admiration of Chesterfield for the superiority of the French education in the drawing-room point of view.

In another letter, with all the warmth that humanity can inspire, he recommends the introduction into France of inoculation, which, brought from Constantinople to England, had rendered almost inoffensive the terrible malady, that, for generations, had every year killed or disfigured numberless victims in Europe. Prejudices of all kinds leagued together against this benefaction; and, for thirty years, the priests and physicians shut out inoculation from France.

Voltaire does not examine all the English philosophy: preserving a certain prudence in his audacity, he waives the direct controversy between Deism and revealed religion, and accosts only three well-chosen philosophers,—Bacon, Locke, and Newton. The

[1] The wealth of many of the English peasantry was one of the facts that had struck him most. Montesquieu, on his side, remarks that the English agriculture greatly surpassed the French. The English exported grain largely: France had not more than enough for herself.



CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES.

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Letter on Bacon was to set its mark on the history of philosophy. From that moment commenced the great noise made by the eighteenth century about this name, which had hitherto been scarcely heard in France.[1] Voltaire exhumes in Bacon the father of that experimental philosophy which he wishes to oppose to the philosophy of pure reason: he thus makes a tradition for his school, then passes from Bacon to Locke, from the forerunner to the Messiah. The *Letter on Locke*[2] is as bold in intention as feeble in conception. He judges the ancients and Descartes with strange superficiality, travesties the doctrine of *innate ideas*, adopts with transport the principle that all the ideas come through the senses, praises Locke most of all for having always been aided by the torch of physics, and ends by celebrating, as the height of wisdom, the doubt expressed by Locke, *whether a purely material being thinks or not;* letting it be seen that he inclines to the affirmative; that is to say, that not only matter, substance extended, in general, but bodies, that is, composites, can think.[3] The confusion of the ideas under the superficial clearness of the language, and the absence of all serious definition of terms, attest that this is not true metaphysics.[4]

The ground is better so far as Newton is concerned. Voltaire lucidly shows the superiority of the Newtonian *attraction* to the *vortices:* he brilliantly sets forth the admirable discovery of the decomposition of the prism, and the advantages of the reflecting telescope, adopted by Newton; but, at the same time, he lauds the erroneous system of the Newtonian emission in opposition to the mechanical system of undulations, outlined by Descartes, elaborated by Huyghens, and definitively demonstrated in our day.

To the *Letters on the English* is joined a long letter, the direct object of which is foreign to England, but not to the system that Voltaire has borrowed from the English: this is a refutation of the

[1] See, concerning Bacon, our *Histoire de France*, t. XII. p. 18, *et seq.*

[2] He begins by affirming that never perhaps was there a more methodical mind and more exact logician than Locke, although he was not a great mathematician: he should have said precisely the contrary. It was because Locke never could endure the *dryness of mathematical truths, which at first present nothing sensible to the mind*, that he was not a great metaphysician; that he did not distinguish the *conceivable* from the *imaginable;* and that he lost, in sensible phenomena, the science of abstract reason.— *Lettres philosophiques*, p. 120, *et seq.*; Amsterdam, 1724.

[3] See the *Age of Louis XIV.* vol. II. p. 245.

[4] A valid objection to Cartesianism is that relative to animals, — those so-called machines that have the same sentiments and perceptions as ourselves, etc.; but Leibnitz had already answered this, not by denying the soul of man, but by affirming the soul of animals.

Thoughts of Pascal. Jansenism has its turn after Cartesianism. Voltaire at war with Pascal is the conflict of good sense and erratic genius, but of a good sense devoid of an ideal, which looks neither above nor within man, and which judges nothing soundly but external life and relations. Despite all the practical reason contained in Voltaire's answers to Jansenist enthusiasm, Pascal is not thoroughly refuted; for one conception of destiny can only be refuted by another, and Voltaire interdicts himself all aspiration in this precise respect. Naturalistic optimism does not suffice against the sublime misanthrope of Port Royal. If man were limited to this earth, from which Voltaire is unwilling to depart, Pascal would be right as to the wretchedness and the incomprehensibility of human nature.[1]

But Voltaire is not only incomplete; he advances very dangerous propositions. "Man is not a simple object; he is composed of innumerable organs. To think of one's self abstracted from all natural things (phenomena) is to think of nothing at all." The negation of human personality, pure nominalism, and materialism, are herein comprised. Man *has not* a body; he *is* a body: he is not a being; he is a collection of beings, of elementary atoms; for the *organs* of which Voltaire speaks can themselves be nothing but aggregations of atoms. The *ego*, the unity that thinks, that loves, and that wills, the only thing of which, in reality, we are conscious, does not exist: the thoughts and sentiments that I believe *mine*, erroneously, since there is no such thing as *I*, are the result of the combined action of atoms temporarily associated to form the human phenomenon. This reasoning makes us giddy, and is doubtless more incomprehensible than the strangest mysteries of any positive religion; but it is, nevertheless, simply the consequence of the principles laid down by Voltaire. This consequence he did not deduce to the end: he always stopped at the impossibility of proving the immortality of the soul,[2] and the probability that the body thinks, without analyzing the definition of

[1] The replies of Voltaire, nevertheless, are sometimes profound. He well refutes the Oriental maxim, *happiness is in repose:* "Man," he says, "is born for action;" and the pretended uncertainty of human ethics, "Where shall we find the fixed point in ethics?" he refutes with this single maxim, received by all nations, *Do not unto others as ye would not have them do unto you.*"

[2] There is also confusion in this. If we admit nothing but pure reason as a principle of certainty, like the Cartesians, we cannot prove the *individuality* of the soul in opposition to Spinozism; for it is sentiment alone that assures us of our individuality: but we very clearly prove that the idea of death, that is, of the decomposition of parts, the separation of aggregates, could not be applied to the principle of thought; that this principle is a real individuality, or a simple mode, of the universal reason.

the body. Others, accepting the starting-point, would carry logic farther.

A violent tempest broke forth against the *Philosophical Letters*. The clergy caused them to be suppressed by a decree of the council: the Great Chamber of the parliament went farther, and condemned them to the flames. Judicial inquiries were entered into against the author; and the keeper of the seals, Chauvelin, obliged him again to leave Paris. Chauvelin soon permitted him to return, when he justified himself as well as he could by publishing letters addressed to the Jesuit Tournemine, his former professor at Louis-le-Grand, in which he strove to prove that he was very religious in granting to God the power of attributing the gift of thought to matter (1735). This commentary did not elucidate the question. Voltaire might have said rigorously, We do not know whether there are two or several substances, or whether there is only one; we do not know whether the physical forces are a different substance from the forces that think and love, or whether they are the same substance in an inferior degree of development: but to persist in saying that thought may be a property of that which we call matter, of that indescribable thing which appears to us extended and passive, was to assemble words that presented no idea.

There is reason for astonishment at such a fall on the part of a mind, which, in default of metaphysical depth, had so much accuracy and breadth: the true cause lies, as it seems, in the incompleteness of the definition of the two substances given by Descartes. Voltaire saw that matter, extended substance, exists, or appears to do so, everywhere and always; that thought, on the contrary, does not exist everywhere, and that, even where it does exist, it does not exist always. Thence arises his tendency to deny that *thought* has any thing substantial and necessary, and to see in it only an attribute of extended substance. He will not comprehend that, because it does not exist everywhere and always, *thought* is not therefore the more susceptible of being reduced to *extension;* and that, instead of assimilating it to this passive principle with which our mind does not conceive it to possess any thing whatever in common, it is necessary to seek above it another more general principle in harmony with it, — *activity*, *force*, to which it is reducible. It is through having paused at Locke, instead of following Leibnitz to his lofty heights, that Voltaire falls into aberrations so fatal.[1]

[1] He touches on the idea of *force*, only to plunge into new confusion. Thought, he

The publication of the *Epistle to Urania*, in which the Christian revelation was openly attacked,[1] and which appeared against the will of the author, renewed the tempest. Voltaire disavowed this piece. He thenceforth adopted a plan of conduct which was a mixture *of audacity and pliancy*, as his biographer Condorcet says; denying the too-compromising works, the manuscripts of which were stolen from him, or which he published under fictitious names; employing artifices, making concessions, withdrawing them, veering about, but always advancing. This system has caused him to be wrongly accused of lacking courage: without such tactics, he would have been speedily crushed, and his part would have become impossible. He did not lack courage;[2] but he often lacked dignity.

The hatred that pursued him, and that he was fully determined not to disarm by silence, had made him judge it necessary thenceforth to keep habitually at a distance from the place whence the *lettres de cachet* were issued, in order to have time, in case of need, to deaden the blows, or to shelter himself from them. He withdrew to the château of Cirey, in Lorraine, the house of a friend, the Marchioness du Châtelet; and did not appear again at Paris till calmer times. This tranquil and laborious sojourn at Cirey was the happiest season of his life. He lived there, in communion of mind, heart, tastes, and labors, with a woman, who, he says, "read Virgil, Pope, and algebra, like a novel;" of a firm and luminous intellect, more virile than feminine, more scientific than artistic and poetic, but with the heart of a woman and the mind of a man. It was a kind of marriage, authorized by the manners of the epoch, and the only serious and solid, if not very passionate affection that Voltaire ever entertained for a woman.

This fruitful association seemed to redouble Voltaire's activity: he pursued his course in all the paths that he had already opened, and made for himself new ones. He had only pointed out Newton to France in the *Philosophical Letters:* he wished to reveal him completely by a methodical exposition of his discoveries, and of

says, is an attribute imparted from God to matter, like *motion*. Behold, therefore, in its effect, motion become in its turn an attribute of extension, activity become an attribute of passivity!

[1] See *ante*, p. 332.

[2] He often carried it to bravado. His saying to the lieutenant of police, Hérault, is well known: "Sir," asked he of him one day, "what is done to those who forge *lettres de cachet?*" — "They are hung." — "That will do very well until those are treated in the same way who manufacture genuine ones." — Note to the second Letter to M. Falkner, joined to the second edition of Zaïre.

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Engraved by W T Fry.

SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

OB. 1727.

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his system of the world, and secured the aid of a member of the Academy of Sciences who had commenced the contest against Cartesian physics before him. This was Maupertuis, a man of an ingenious, and sometimes eccentric mind, who alone might have long sustained, without much noise, the theories to which Voltaire was about to give immense renown.[1] The *Elements of Newton's Philosophy* was published in Holland in 1738. The Chancellor d'Aguesseau had refused Voltaire a license for the book. D'Aguesseau defended Cartesian physics, on account of its principle of motion directly and perpetually imparted from God; and rejected Newtonianism as irreligious, with its attraction, presented by the disciples of Newton, less religious than their master, as a property inherent to matter. It was not for the censorship to decide such questions, and Descartes would have been greatly humiliated at this kind of protection.

Voltaire was at this moment intoxicated with physics and Newtonianism. He entertained the thought of making the sciences his principal career, which did not divert him from his philosophical aim; since all philosophy ended to him in physics. He wrote papers for the Academy of Sciences (Madame du Châtelet and he competing respectively) against the celebrated Euler, on the question of *the nature and propagation of fire*. A young scholar who was one of Newton's successors in the discovery of the laws of the system of the world, Clairaut, arrested Voltaire in a path in which he would have fruitlessly wasted his powers, and forced him to comprehend, that, though he had been able brilliantly to set forth the ideas of Newton, Nature had not made him to be, in turn, an inventive genius in the scientific order. Voltaire contented himself thenceforth with drawing on his physical knowledge for arguments for his philosophy, and colors for his poetry. Among many other pieces, both serious and familiar, imprinted with the same stamp, the beautiful *Epistle to Madame du Châtelet*, on Newton, proved what a fruitful source of new images and ideas the sciences would afford to the poet.[2]

Before the *Elements of Newton's Philosophy*, Voltaire had written a treatise on metaphysics for Madame du Châtelet, which

[1] *Le Discours sur la figure des astres*, by Maupertuis, had appeared in 1732, two years before the *Lettres Philosophiques*.

[2] A strange thing, which shows to what point there were two men in him; Voltaire, in the height of his scientific passion, was already terrified at seeing the taste for the sciences gaining too much ascendency over the taste for letters, and Paris "banishing the graces for geometry."—*Corresp. générale*, 1735.

remained unpublished till his death, and which proves, still better than the *Philosophical Letters*, that he was even less fitted to become a great metaphysician than a great physicist. He would have done better to follow the tendencies of Madame du Châtelet in this respect than to impose his own on her. This noble mind understood and profoundly admired Leibnitz. Voltaire, on the contrary, plunged deeper and deeper into the inconsistencies of a bastard system that illogically associated materialism with Deism. He set forth with his usual clearness the reasons of common sense, the reasons drawn from the order of the world, in favor of the existence of God, and proclaimed free will, which is *the health of the soul:* but, at the same time, he declared that all the probabilities are against the immortality and spirituality of the soul; that goodness and moral evil are relative ideas.[1] If the soul is not a real being, if it is, as he was inclined to believe, only a term by which is designated an aggregate of affinities, how can it have free will? To be free, it is necessary *to exist.* It is true that we may go farther, and cut off the discussion at the basis: to reason, to make systems, to deny that we exist, it is necessary to exist.[2] It is difficult to imagine any thing more contrary to sentiment, to instinct, and to reason, than to unite the belief in a supreme intellect with the negation of the immortality of individual intellects and their moral responsibility. This false Deism, therefore, was not destined to a long reign, and was soon to be forced to choose between two more logical doctrines, — Atheism and true Deism.

It is just to judge Voltaire, a man of action before every thing, by his intentions rather than his formulas. His sentiments are worth much more than his ideas: his good sense and his kind heart are at strife with his dialectics. He denies the immortality of the soul through reaction against those who tyrannize over the human race by the fear of hell. He is drawn on by logic to materialize the *determinism* of Leibnitz in behalf of naturalistic optimism, and to make man a kind of machine, all the movements of which are directed by the force that has created it.[3] On the other hand, he is dismayed; he protests against fatalism; he

[1] He recurs to this point, and admits that there is an absolute and eternal justice. — See the *Philosophe ignorant.*

[2] To say that the *body* can think is only words, and not an idea. The *body* is not a being, but an assemblage of beings: which of these beings thinks? Is it a single one? Then recurs the *ego*, the monad, the soul. Is it several? is it all? — a senate of atoms holding counsel in the brain? What does this mean?

[3] See the treatises that follow the *Métaphysique; Le Philosophe ignorant; Le Principe d'action.*

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JOAN OF ARC.

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eloquently lays claim to moral liberty, to virtue, in *The Dissertations on Man*, — philosophic poems, in which he reproduces in the most airy and vivid form the spirit of the *Essay on Man*, recently written by Pope under the inspiration of Bolingbroke. The character of these dissertations, published from 1734 to 1737, is generally sound and sensible, the question of optimism excepted. Voltaire attacks therein only asceticism, and not the essential principles of morality or religion.

Among the light poems that unceasingly flowed from his inexhaustible vein, more perfect in their charming negligence than the great dissertations and lofty verses, a piece of piquant tone and lax morality, the *Worldling* (1736), raised new outcries. He defended himself with as much address as grace; and this freakish apology for luxury and effeminacy should not, indeed, be taken too much in earnest. It would have been well for Voltaire's glory had he written nothing worse. But we cannot avoid calling to mind, at the same epoch, the truly indelible stain of his life. Voltaire composed that poem which can scarcely be named, the shameful masterpiece of that abolition of respect and modesty which was one of the characteristics of the times, — he called this a recreation from his serious labors! — *The Maid of Orleans*, written by the side of the woman whom he most loved and esteemed! Poor contradictory human nature!

Ariosto and Cervantes had trifled with the abstract ideal of chivalry: Voltaire trifled with something far more sacred, — the living national ideal. His only excuse is that he knew not what he did; that he was thoroughly unconscious of his work and his subject: he saw in it only a caprice, a riot of the imagination. The hatred of superstition, of mysticism, of the supernatural, of every thing that exceeded common sense, had entirely shut him out from the comprehension of this sublime story. Among the contemporary narratives concerning Jeanne Darc, known at that epoch when the essential documents were still buried in the archives, he attached himself to one alone, the most erroneous, that of Monstrelet, because it was the only one that came within the domain of good common sense.[1] But, even admitting this, why did not humanity, in default of patriotism, arrest him in the presence of the tragic end of this life, still heroic, even if no longer beatified and sacred? He was to be punished in the sight of pos-

[1] Not only in his poem, but in his history, the *Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations*, Monstrelet makes Jeanne an innkeeper's daughter, twenty-seven years old, accustomed to horses and arms.

terity by a chastisement worthy of his criminal levity, — the chastisement to which he would have been the most sensitive. It was found that he, the enemy of the Pharisees, had tortured for the second time the Pharisees' immortal victim, the greatest among all the martyrs of the Inquisition. His instinct had not led him to perceive in Jeanne what he undertook, at that time, to proclaim in Christ himself, —

"The divine enemy of the scribes and priests."

Fickle and incomprehensible creature! At the same time that he secretly polluted his Muse in this orgy, he knew how to draw from it the noblest accents for the tragic stage. The hand that outraged the liberatress of France avenged America, after three centuries, on its barbarous and fanatical destroyers (*Alzire*, 1736); or, in *Mérope* (written in 1736, and played in 1743), reproduced, in default of the antique coloring, the simplicity of the Greek ideas, and courageously banished amorous commonplaces from a plot in which the entire interest is concentrated on maternal love, — a severe drama, the success of which attested that the public was beginning to be accessible to more serious emotions.

Between *Alzire* and *Mérope*, *Mahomet* had appeared (1741), a work more brilliant than solid, and of very questionable morality. Voltaire denied in this the memory of a great man, in order to attack through him, as impostors, all founders of religions, all legislators who had sheltered their laws under ideas of divine inspiration. In the prophet of Mecca, he evidently struck the prophet of Sinai. Nevertheless, by a true masterpiece of diplomacy, he dedicated his work to the Holy Father in person, — the original and learned Benedict XIV. (Lambertini); induced him to accept *Mahomet* as the immolation of a false religion to a true one; and obtained from him, by the aid of the brothers D'Argenson, a medal which Benedict XIV. had caused to be struck with his effigy, and distributed only to his friends. The author of the *Philosophical Letters* thus shielded himself from his enemies by the *stole of the vicar of God*,[1] less strict or more careless than the censorship of Paris, which was enlightened, indeed, by private jealousy.[2]

Voltaire, aspiring to take full possession of the stage, had already attempted comedy with indifferent success: he returned to it by a work, the subject of which is worthy of mention, — *Nan-*

[1] *Mém. de d'Argenson*, p. 86.

[2] It was Crébillon, who, in the capacity of censor, refused his indorsement to the piece.

nine, a piece aimed at aristocratic prejudices (1749). But *Thalia*, as was still said in classic style, was even less favorable to him than *Melpomene*. *Comic power* is a wholly special qualification, and one of which the most brilliant and sparkling minds may be altogether devoid. Voltaire had too exclusive and too active an individuality to observe with patient care, and to transform himself into others. It is less difficult to compose dramas interesting through the situations and the animation of the action[1] than to create types of characters.

This indefatigable genius, who was unwilling for any branch of intellectual activity to escape him, had just addressed himself to another Muse, that was destined to accord him more favors and glory. He had accosted History. He wished to possess himself of human deeds, as of facts of external nature; to seek arguments in that which changes as in that which is unchangeable.

He had commenced with a narrative of wholly contemporaneous events, the *History of Charles XII.*, composed during his stay in England, and a true masterpiece of narration. He projected and wrote for Madame du Châtelet, about 1740, a book of far greater importance, one of the chief works of the eighteenth century,—the *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations*, from Charlemagne to Louis XIII. This was the continuation and counterpart of Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History*. Since Bossuet, the sphere of history had been enlarged: India, China, and Persia had begun to be entered upon, not only by conquerors and merchants, but by observers, and men of study and science. Voltaire, in his preface, revealed the recesses of the East beyond the Judæa of Bossuet: a vaster world appeared behind the Mosaic world. The true horizon of the human race was unfolded. Voltaire had neither a science complete enough (and no one had), nor a philosophy lofty enough, to embrace this immense horizon; but he had the merit of being the first to fix his eye on it, and to show from afar its great outlines. It was chiefly through the spirit of opposition to Judaism, it must be admitted, that he admired the Upper East, without fully comprehending it. Sensualistic China, idealistic and contemplative India, spiritualistic and active Persia, all were good to him: but there was a great instinct in his confused perceptions; namely, that the essential truths are found everywhere in the tradition of the human race; that there

[1] This, in fact, is what distinguishes the tragedy of Voltaire. There is more animation, complications, stage effect, external life, than in the tragedy of the seventeenth century.

is a natural religion, and dogmas, common to all peoples. Unhappily, it was impossible for him to follow out and fructify this great idea, — him, who failed to recognize the most natural and most spontaneous of these dogmas, the immortality of the soul,[1] without which the others remain barren. His *natural religion* is a stationary abstraction, and not the universal religion, always living, immutable in its eternal object, and absolute, but progressive in the notion and sentiment that the human race possesses of this object, the soul-religion of humanity.

The critical mind of Voltaire could not comprehend the wholly synthetical spirit of the primitive world. His disdain and lack of comprehension of all internal and mysterious things made him see, in all priesthoods and all theologies, gross impostures, and lying corruptions of natural religion. By a contradiction which is explained by his opinions, combined with the requirements of his polemics, he recalls and rehabilitates the most remote past of humanity; and, at the same time, he is unjust to the heroic and religious ages, to the infancy and youth of nations: but this very injustice is the erroneous form of a true principle,—progress, perfectibility, the love of civilization. It is natural, moreover, that he should be especially unjust to Judaism and Christianity. His book is, in all points, the antithesis of that of Bossuet. The barbarism of the Jewish people inspires him with abhorrence: he sees therein the origin of all the religious frenzy that ensanguined the East; the rest wholly escapes him,— both the great character of this people, and the divine inspiration which caused Christianity to arise therefrom, and diffuse itself over the world. It is impossible to comprehend, in reading Voltaire, how the greatest event of history could have been effected, without falling back, as he does too often, on the puerile system of the production of great effects by small causes; that is, by chance. There is the same error concerning the Middle Ages: he sees in them only disorder and ignorance, and not the ideal loftiness that is manifested through this chaos. He is scarcely ever mistaken as to facts (he had read prodigiously, and had an inexhaustible memory); he is in general much better informed, more exact, and even more impartial to persons, than he is commonly represented: it is the soul of things, if we may so speak, that he disregards.

Two points merit especial attention: first, he denies the unity

[1] Massillon has a singular saying on this subject; namely, that the idea of the immortality of the soul is more universal than that of God. It is certain that it is found among savages who have not yet attained, or who have lost, the idea of the divine *unity*.

of the human race, and maintains that different races have been created for different climates.[1] This opinion, whatever may be its intrinsic value, would have been very dangerous had it been produced before the principle of philanthropy, the idea of moral fraternity, could have taken the place of the idea of physical fraternity. And again: moral fraternity can be based dogmatically only on an idealistic principle which Voltaire did not admit,—the existence of a common type in the idea of God. Secondly, he does not admit that the human race is diminishing in numbers, as Montesquieu and so many others affirm.[2] He believes that the population neither increases nor diminishes on the globe, and refutes the calculations according to which France, in conformity with an enumeration of subsidies in 1328, had thirty-six million inhabitants under Philippe of Valois.

In short, whatever may be the mistakes and omissions of the *Essay on Manners*, this book must be considered as an immense progress and an immense service: the greatness of the plan, the freedom of the execution, the frank judgment pronounced on all things and all persons, gave a new world to the human mind. For the first time among the moderns, history was something else than the annals of kings, courts, wars, and treaties. All that interests man found a place therein. Every thing that has since been done in history, every thing that has been elucidated or elaborated, every thing that has risen to those higher spheres to which Voltaire did not mount, has proceeded from him. He did not give the true philosophy of history, which the critical and sensualistic spirit could not bring forth; but he admirably traced the frame in which it was to be displayed. It must not be objected that a profound thinker had already, fifteen years before (in 1725), attempted a true philosophy of history, by systematizing the phases of the life of nations, under the title of the *New*

[1] He seems to consider the inferior races as a transition from animals to men.

[2] There is a curious paper by the Marshal de Saxe on this question, published in the appendix to his *Rêveries*. In order to remedy the pretended depopulation, he proposes that men shall only marry for five years, and shall be forbidden to re-marry the same woman if she has had no children at the expiration of this time. Maurice de Saxe is a strange philosopher. Montesquieu, in the *Esprit des Lois* (liv. xxiii.), persisting in the opinion of the *Lettres Persanes* on this subject, also desires laws, doubtless less eccentric, to encourage propagation. He would have been greatly surprised had it been foretold to him that the population of Europe would have doubled almost everywhere, and tripled in some countries, within a century, despite immense wars and revolutions. It appears true that the population of France was very large in the fourteenth century, before the English wars, and that it was a long time afterwards in attaining the same standard.—See our *Histoire de France*, t. V., *Éclaircissements*, No. 1.

Science. The book of Vico, buried at Naples, was unknown to France and Europe, and was not really made public until some time after. It had no influence among us; and, when a more comprehensive philosophy of history than that of Voltaire reacted on us from abroad, it came to us from Germany with Lessing and Herder, rather than from Italy with Vico.

The *Essay on the Manners of Nations* long remained unpublished, and did not appear until 1757: it was followed, in 1765, by an *Essay on the Philosophy of History*, which was added to it as an introduction. Voltaire very forcibly sustains in this the remote antiquity of the human race, from the long duration of centuries that must have been necessary for the first development of civilization. As to the development of religion, he shows each tribe having at first its own separate god, then the larger nations multiplying their gods by those of their neighbors, then the sages rising to the idea of an only god, which the priests, according to him, soon corrupted by the invention of systems of theology. Among many erroneous and unsound assertions, there are happy and humorous episodes: "Man is perfectible; man has always lived in society;[1] the savage state, properly called (absolute isolation), has never existed (he agrees here with Montesquieu). We have two sentiments which are the foundation of society,—commiseration and justice. God has given us a principle of universal reason, as he has given plumage to the birds, and fur to the bears" (§ v.).

We have hitherto followed the development of Voltaire's genius rather than verified its action on society. This action was constantly increasing. The works published, or represented on the stage; the unpublished works that transpired through the revelations of friends, or through fragments circulating in manuscript; what was known, what was divined, and what was expected,—all concurred in exciting the sympathy of some, the fear of others, the eager curiosity of the majority. At each journey to Paris, the powerful innovator could measure the progressive enlargement of his philosophic circle. This progress was not, however, so rapid as might be believed. Voltaire had won renown at the beginning of his career; but he won dominion only by degrees. The frivolity of minds retarded his reign far more than advanced it. The generation of the Regency had scarcely felt the need of any philosophy or theory whatsoever, and had lived in indiffer-

[1] "Politeness belongs to nature," he had said in his admirable Letter to Falkner, (*Epître dedicatoire de Zaïre*).

ence and absolute practical scepticism. Men had been unbelievers without investigation, as believers without investigation.[1] This generation was ending, and new times were about to dawn.

Voltaire experienced a great pleasure during his abode at Cirey. Newtonianism was confirmed, on a most important point, by a brilliant experiment, which he had contributed to instigate. The Academy of Sciences, agitated by the discussions which Maupertuis had excited in its midst, and which the *Philosophical Letters* of Voltaire had just rendered popular, took an heroic resolution: it resolved, with the concurrence of the minister of the marine, to verify that application of the Newtonian theory which was susceptible of immediate demonstration, — the hypothesis concerning the figure of the earth. This required nothing less than the measurement of a degree of the meridian in the polar region, and of another under the equator.[2] Never had human science undertaken any thing so colossal: it was the sublimity of geometry applied to physics. The youngest and most courageous of the French scholars shared this glorious work. Bouguer,[3] Godin, and La Condamine set out for Peru in May, 1735; Maupertuis, Clairaut, Camus, and Lemonnier set out for the north pole a year later. A twelvemonth sufficed for the latter, but at the price of great efforts and fatigue. They pushed on to Mount Kiltes, at the north of Tornea, in Lapland, more than a degree beyond the polar circle; erected their signals of triangulation on eight mountains, the summits of which they had laid bare; and operated in the most intense cold. On their return, they were near perishing, with the fruit of their labors, by shipwreck, in the Gulf of Bothnia.

The difficulties and dangers were incomparably more numerous for the American travellers. Nature and men seemed agreed to heap up obstacles in their way: on the one hand were the distrustful and fractious spirit of the Spanish authorities, and the superstitious and covetous ignorance of the Hispano-Peruvian nations; and on the other, the phenomena of a gigantic Nature, amidst which the mountains of Lapland would have scarcely seemed hills. The expedition of these heroes of science lasted

[1] See *Lettres Persanes*, let. lxxv. The men of the Regency were far from being philosophers; but they sometimes plunged into a devotion as frenzied as their libertinism had been.

[2] In 1724, Father Feuillée, who was a Minim, like Mersenne formerly, had gone to the Canaries to determine the position of the first meridian.

[3] The author of a new system for the improved construction of ships.

ten years, — as long as the siege of Troy. This need not astonish us, when we reflect that they erected signals on the summits or the declivities of thirty-nine mountains, in an area of eighty leagues, beginning a little this side, and ending three degrees beyond, the equator, from Caraburu, in the north of Quito, to Chinan, in the south of Cuença. They were forced a hundred times to repeat those ascents of lofty summits which pass for memorable events in our Alps. They were obliged to live for whole weeks on peaks which had been seen by no other living creatures than the condors, and some of which surpassed our Mont Blanc more than six thousand feet, — a height at which, under our latitude, men could not remain many hours without dying. Some of these signals, carried off by the half-civilized herdsmen, or swept away by avalanches, were reërected seven times! Two pyramids, set up at the extremities of the great base which they had measured, at last announced the close of their prodigious operations. These monuments, which should have been held in veneration by all the human race, were thrown down by the officers of the King of Spain, who saw in them an encroachment on their master's rights.

One of the indefatigable travellers, La Condamine, not yet satiated with adventures and perils, wished to pay a new tribute to science, and explored the whole course of the River Amazon; that is, crossed the whole South-American continent, the interior of which was almost unknown, and embarked for France at Brazil.

In 1750, a third voyage was made by the Abbé de La Caille to the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of measuring a third degree as near as possible to the south pole.[1] This experiment superabundantly confirmed the two others. The observations of French science resulted in the certainty that the earth is a spheroid, flattened at the poles, as the calculations of Newton had established. As early as 1743, Clairaut, one of the observers sent to the North, had published his *Treatise on the Figure of the Earth*, — the first work in which a French geometrician had added to the discoveries of Newton: he gave, in 1750, his *Theory of the Moon*, in which he confirmed the system of attraction, by admirable applications; then, in 1760, his *Theory of the Motion of Comets*.

[1] La Caille determined, besides, the exact position of the Cape, and that of eight or nine hundred southern stars which are invisible in our hemisphere. He observed the parallax of the moon at the Cape at the same time that Lalande observed it at Berlin, and ascertained the distance of the moon from the earth within fifty leagues.

No French scholar of the epoch deserves a more glorious name than this friend of Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet.

France, therefore, became Newtonian: she accepted every thing, — the errors with the glorious truths; and Cartesian physics were long eclipsed.

While Newton triumphed in celestial and terrestrial physics, a combination of the spirit of Newton and the spirit of Leibnitz invaded animal physics. Cartesian mechanism, modified by a few compromises, had reigned hitherto, with the great Dutch physician Boerhaave, in medical theories. Boerhaave had introduced the principle of attraction into chemistry; but he attributed every thing in the animal economy to purely physical and chemical principles, and did not attain the perception of the characteristics which distinguish the kingdom of life from the inorganic kingdom. A young man of twenty, Théophile de Bordeu, from Montpelier, resuming and blending together in a more scientific form the mystic *vitalism* of Paracelsus and Van Helmont and the more methodical *vitalism* of Stahl,[2] connected all the acts of the vital economy with a special principle, — *sensibility* (*De Sensu generice considerato*, 1742); then demonstrated, in the *Chilificationis historica* (1743), that digestion, for example, is a vital action, inexplicable by mechanical and chemical operations. From Bordeu really proceeded modern physiology, the science of organic life. The vitalistic school of Montpelier still preserved those lofty tendencies which Newton had possessed, and which most of his disciples had lost; while the mechanical doctrine, separated from Cartesian metaphysics, was swallowed up for a moment in pure materialism with La Mettrie and others.[3]

[1] *Biographie universelle*, arts. MAUPERTUIS, CLAIRAUT, BOUGUER, LA CONDAMINE, GODIN, etc. — *Essai sur les progrès des arts et de l'esprit humain sous le règne de Louis XV.* t. II. p. 6, *et seq.*; 1776.

[2] Stahl, the contemporary and fellow-countryman of Leibnitz, had combined the Cartesian principle of the inertia of matter with the hypothesis of a *spiritual* principle, — a force which gives motion to matter: this motive soul, different from the thinking soul, resembles the antique theory of two souls, *anima* and *animus*. Paracelsus and Van Helmont had supposed the existence of *archei*, divers forces which animate each of our organic apparatus.

[3] From this epoch dates the great progress of modern French surgery. An ordinance of April 23, 1743, definitively separated surgeons from barbers, and prescribed that, to be head-surgeon at Paris, it was necessary to be master of arts of some university of the kingdom. Dissecting-rooms were established, for anatomical demonstrations, at Montpelier and Paris. New means were discovered of resuscitating those asphyxiated by drowning, of stanching the bleeding of wounds, and of curing fistulas, aneurisms, and cataracts. The forceps was invented. During the last war, amputations had been much less numerous, — a proof of the progress of the healing art.

Voltaire was transported with the success of his opinions in the scientific order; but success would have been still dearer to him in another order of ideas, which trenched no longer on the mysteries of the physical world, but on the moral life of society. To secure the triumph of religious tolerance, to put an end to the acts of violence exercised by political power against dissenters, — this was the wish nearest his heart. Unhappily, facts proceeded here in an inverse direction from opinions. In proportion as there was less religion, there was more persecution. The men without faith or morals with whom the administration was filled persecuted through hypocrisy, through calculation, or even simply through routine. From the death of Fleuri, all the furies were let loose anew against the Protestants, by the Secretary of State, Saint-Florentin, — a name which history should not suffer to reap the benefit of its obscurity.[1]

Ideas, however, progressed. While the government redoubled its tyranny to the Protestants, and the Jesuits strove to arouse fanatical passions by inventing new rites and new superstitions, a singular institution was formed in an opposite spirit, which was subject, not to the direct action of Voltaire, but very evidently to his moral influence, and later to that of Rousseau. Face to face with the *Sacred Heart*, *Freemasonry* was organized. We will not investigate its true origin, its connection with the ancient master workmen, brother-pontiffs, Rosicrucians, and *compagnonnages*, or the mysterious filiation of the Templars since the proscription of their order; this would be merely the interest of curiosity, for the modern *Freemasons* drew from these traditions only insignia, and not ideas: the historical importance of Freemasonry and its essential tendencies belong entirely to the eighteenth century. It came to us from the country which we were beginning so much to imitate, — we, who had been accustomed to furnish models to others, — from the country of Bolingbroke, Newton, and Locke; but France transformed it, as she transforms whatever she imitates. Freemasonry in the preceding century had taken the form of secret political societies during the civil wars of England: in 1724, it publicly manifested at London its existence, if not its aim, in which, it would seem, there was nothing really definite. In 1725, it was introduced into France by the English Jacobites, headed by Lord Derwentwater, who was condemned to death a few years after by the judges of King George. The conquered

[1] We shall recur to the persecution which raged from 1745 to 1762.

adherents of ultramontane Catholicism and absolute monarchy were the propagators in France of an association so well fitted by its nature to shelter the principles most opposed to political and religious despotism. It was one of the contradictions of which history is full. Moreover, had not Bolingbroke been a Jacobite?

The *Masonic lodges* did not begin to increase largely at Paris until 1736. It was not until 1738 that they quitted the hands of the foreigners who had founded them, to choose as *grand master* a great French nobleman, the Duke d'Antin; then a prince of the blood, the Count de Clermont (1743). This high patronage did not preserve them from annoyance from the police. The Cardinal de Fleuri, the enemy of all innovation, closed the Masonic lodges as he had closed the *Club of the Entresol.* After the death of Fleuri, the Châtelet continued to render sentence after sentence against the Freemasons, who, nevertheless, continued to multiply, and spread from Paris to the provinces. Titles full of bombast, and fantastic rites, imitated from the antique mysteries, as if to support pretensions to a fabulous antiquity, should not cause us to disregard the gravity of the direct, and, above all, indirect efforts of the Masonic institution. The vagueness in the aim of an association which proposed at first only to "unite all nations through the love of truth and of the fine arts"[1] was precisely what constituted the strength and efficiency of Freemasonry. To associate in a common rite men of all nations and all religions was to tend to substitute the love of humanity for exclusive and malevolent[2] nationalism, and religious tolerance for fanaticism and sectarian spirit. Political and religious despotism, in excluding from every political, military, literary, or industrial body all who did not profess the religion of the State, had perfectly understood its part: the advocates of liberty also understood theirs in propagating Freemasonry.

It seemed as if Freemasonry sought to exceed the negative principle of tolerance: the Symbolic Temple, the *Great Architect of the Universe*, the appeals to the memory of certain legislators of the Upper East, and especially of that Zoroaster in whom Voltaire appeared to feel instinctively the first awakening of the genius of the West, — all these formulas indicated a tendency to affirm

[1] Letter from Ramsay to the Cardinal de Fleuri (March 20, 1737); ap. Lémontei, t. II. p. 292.

[2] The France of the eighteenth century even exceeded the aim in this respect; for it became too cosmopolitan, and not enough national.

natural religion. The successors of those *Freemasons* of former times, who constructed the exclusive Church of the Middle Ages, seemed to aspire to construct the universal temple; but these aspirations exceeded the religious scope of the eighteenth century. Freemasonry paused at a Deism without either negation or affirmation of aught exceeding a belief in God, and a spirit of tolerance, charity, and philanthropy.[1]

Despite the monstrous anomaly presented by the tyranny exercised against the Protestants, Voltaire, therefore, saw his principles widely propagated. The friends of his philosophy, or, at least, the friends of tolerance, participated in the government; and, if they were powerless to defend the unhappy Reformers, they could protect, in some measure, the most radical adversaries of Catholicism, who, being enlisted in no organized sect, slipped through the meshes of the net spread by the persecutors, owing to their very infidelity. A little address, a little reticence, and they saved, if not their works, at least their person. Voltaire had, moreover, from 1740, a support abroad more solid than that which his friends could offer him in France. For some years already, he had been cherishing with delight the hope of seeing philosophy seated on one of the thrones of Europe. The young Prince royal of Prussia had, so to speak, given himself to him with an enthusiasm which soon became reciprocal, and the memorials of which are preserved in a correspondence which fills several volumes. The literary and philosophical pupil of Voltaire shows himself therein already superior, perhaps, to his master, not indeed in the sense of things in general, but in the sense of men and public affairs in the political sense. Inferior in every other respect, and particularly in the moral sense, he had, notwithstanding, the deplorable advantage of surpassing his master in logic on a question of high importance. Voltaire believed in God, reputed the immortality of the soul more than doubtful, and maintained free-will. Frederick unequivocally denied the soul and liberty: he did not, indeed, yet carry his logic far enough; for he preserved the idea of God, as if blind fatality below did not suppose blind fatality above. It was, however, at this time that he wrote, to the great

[1] Attempts were made among the Freemasons of France to affiliate women; but the extreme laxity of the morals of the times did not permit serious or useful results to be thus obtained. It was, on the contrary, the cause of irregularities which might have morally ruined the institution, had they been extended farther. — Consult, respecting the Freemasons, *Acta latomorum; Hist. de la fondation du Grand-Orient; Hist. de la Franc-Maçonnerie*, by Clavel, etc.

delight of Voltaire, the refutation of Machiavel's *Prince;* but he refuted the theory of useful crimes only by pretending that crime cannot be useful, and by setting out from admitted interest.

The *Anti-Machiavel* was being printed secretly through the care of Voltaire, when the young author was called to the throne. An order immediately arrived to suspend the publication. The throne had instantaneously wrought its effect. There was wherewithal in this to make Voltaire, so happy at the accession of the future Marcus Aurelius, reflect in turn. Their relations, however, were not modified thereby. Frederick, if he showed himself as unscrupulous towards his neighbors and allies as a king who was not a philosopher, was faithful in other respects to his antecedents. He did enough laudable things in his administration to close the eyes of Voltaire to the rest; and, above all, he had the merit, in the sight of his friend, of being as openly sceptical as before his accession, and of setting the unheard-of example of a king living outside of all positive religion. He made great efforts to attract his *beloved master*, not to his court (for he had none), but to the castle where he lived, in the intervals of his battles, in the midst of a colony of French scholars, and men of letters, — the second French emigration to Prussia, very different from the grave and pious Protestant refugees of 1685. Frederick had revived the Academy of Berlin, formerly created by Leibnitz, and abolished by the barbarous Frederick William; and had made this academy a little infidel France, presided over by Maupertuis.

Voltaire resisted offers so seductive, through affection for *Émilie* (Madame du Châtelet); but this royal friendship greatly raised him in the sight of the French court. By one of those contrasts very common in weak and wrangling governments, at the very moment when persecution was beginning to rage on the one hand, on the other the great adversary of fanaticism was seen attaining to favor and honor. With the life of the aged Fleuri, to whom Voltaire had been antipathetic, — like every thing that savored of noise and bustle, — ended the studious and fruitful retirement of Cirey. Voltaire reappeared at Paris and Versailles. The King, the inheritor of the sentiments of Fleuri, as hostile to mental audacity as his great grandfather formerly, and as indifferent to literary renown as Louis XIV. had been sensitive to it, disliked and feared Voltaire; but Madame de Châteauroux and the Duke de Richelieu surmounted this repugnance in some degree. The D'Argensons employed *the friend of the King of Prussia* in

diplomacy, and aided him to achieve, by contracts for military stores, the acquisition of a large fortune commenced in *extraordinary transactions* and public loans. Wealth was, to the Epicurean philosopher, not an object of cupidity or avarice, or only an instrument of luxury and enjoyment, but also, and above all, a powerful means of action, influence, personal independence, and beneficence.

His favor was greatly increased by the accession of Madame de Pompadour. He had been very intimate with her when she was only Madame d'Étioles; and the new favorite, who foresaw the formation about the young Dauphin of a devout party opposed to royal mistresses, strove to captivate public opinion by the support of the most brilliant writers and innovators. She made Voltaire gentleman-in-waiting, historiographer of France, and academician, which Madame de Châteauroux had been unable to do. The philosopher purchased these advantages by deplorable concessions.[1] There was reason to fear that he would make still more. It was even pretended that the court had weakened his formidable activity by diverting his ambition and vanity towards another career. This was knowing neither the court nor Voltaire. The fate of superior men therein had been seen from the example of Chauvelin and D'Argenson. The surroundings, it must be admitted, were unhealthy for Voltaire: happily for him, he speedily relapsed into a partial disgrace. He had been able, indeed, to pay court to the mistresses of the King, and to cultivate the friendship of the corrupt nobles, such as Richelieu, who prized his faults more than his great qualities; but he could not take it upon himself to be base and servile to any one, — not even to the King. His witty and bold familiarities shocked the haughty pride of Louis XV.; and Madame de Pompadour herself, who aimed at dignity and lofty manners, found him too little respectful to suit her. She attempted to wound him through his self-love as a tragic writer by reviving the renown of the elder Crébillon in opposition to him, and ceased to admit him to the *petits appartements* of the King. Voltaire resumed his liberty, and returned to Lorraine.

A sad event speedily occurred there to disturb his life. Madame du Châtelet died in September, 1749. She was no longer any thing to him but a friend. She had even suffered herself to be drawn into the weakness of a new attachment for a young

[1] See his letter to the Jesuit La Tour, 1746, in his *Mélanges littéraires*. He professes therein esteem and affection for the Company of Jesus in order to disarm the bigots of the Academy.

man, Saint-Lambert, an indifferent poet and philosopher, who had the singular fortune to be the successful rival in love of the two greatest geniuses of the age. Nevertheless, this friendship was still the strongest tie of Voltaire's life, and was never replaced. Nothing longer retained him in France. He finally accepted Frederick's proposals, and set out for Berlin in the course of 1750. We shall meet him there again, and shall follow anew his indefatigable progress through the second period of the philosophy of the eighteenth century.

Before losing the woman for whom he had entertained affection for twenty years, Voltaire had lost a friend who was far from having held as great a place in his life, but who had left a luminous trace therein, and throughout this whole century, — that young Vauvenargues, who appeared for an instant in the midst of a selfish and frivolous generation, as the precursor of a better age. We have already mentioned elsewhere this young officer, whose delicate health was ruined by the unhappy retreat from Prague. Obliged to renounce the hopes of glory that he had founded on the military service, he strove to enter diplomacy. At the moment when, after many rebuffs, he was about to see this career open before him, the cruel malady, whose ravages Voltaire had wished to arrest by propagating *inoculation*, — the small-pox, — disfigured him, almost deprived him of sight, and planted in his breast the seeds of a fatal consumption. He resigned himself to his fate, not with the rigidity of a stoic, but with unalterable gentleness; collected the fruits of his solitary meditations; published a part of them in 1746; and died in 1747 at thirty-two, after four years of suffering, during which his chief consolation had been the friendship of Voltaire. He refused, on approaching his dying hour, to certify himself a Catholic; and his last words, touching, but imprinted with a Deistic quietism which religious philosophy might deem somewhat excessive, were, "O God! I believe that I have never offended thee. I go with the confidence of a sincere heart to throw myself again into the arms of Him who has given me life."[1]

His works, which are comprised entire in two octavo volumes,[2]

[1] *Notice sur Vauvenargues*, by Suard; ap. *Œuvres complètes de Vauvenargues*, 1823, t. I. p. 46, 18mo.

[2] *Œuvres de Vauvenargues*, new edition, preceded by the *Éloge de Vauvenargues*, crowned by the French Academy, and accompanied with notes and commentaries by D. L. Gilbert, Paris, June, 1857. This is an excellent and complete edition, enlarged by a great number of unpublished maxims and fragments, and by an admirable correspondence with the Marquis de Mirabeau (the father of the great Mirabeau) and others.

consist only of an *Introduction to the Knowledge of the Human Mind*, *Reflections*, *Maxims*, *Characteristics*, and a few moral or academical fragments. The only treatise of any extent, the *Introduction*, etc., is unfinished: the imperfect conception, the unmethodical arrangement, the sometimes inaccurate definitions, and the instances of incorrectness of style, betray the youth of the writer; but the originality of a mind that is indebted only to itself, and the constant elevation of thought, well compensate, in a moralist, for the insufficiency of metaphysical, and, above all, of classical studies. Inferior in strength to Pascal, in practical knowledge of society to La Rochefoucauld, in variety and brilliancy to La Bruyère, Vauvenargues is superior to the first in the sense of truth, to the second in moral sense, and to the third in practical utility. He is, of all, the one, the reading of whom is most useful to the soul. There are found in him neither the sublime paradoxes of a sectarian of genius, nor the misanthropy of a courtier wearied of being no longer able to be a factionist, nor the coldly brilliant observations of a critic who judges the drama of human life as a disinterested spectator. Like Pascal, it is with his heart's blood that he writes; it is himself that he analyzes, in a contemplation unknown to this epoch of external life. If he turns on his fellows the torch of investigation, this torch is that of charity, of a charity Christian in sentiment, if not in dogma. He introduces into Deistic philosophy the soul of Racine and Fénelon, those two objects of his worship; and the moral purity, the earnestness, in which Voltaire was lacking. Indulgence for human errors is in him enlightened compassion, and not complicity. Touching even in his youthful aspirations to glory, which is to him something as pure as virtue, he wears everywhere an impressive gentleness, and seems already clad in that light which surrounds virtuous souls in the Elysium described by Fénelon.

Two characteristics prevail in Vauvenargues: the first, which he has in common with Descartes and Voltaire, in opposition to Pascal, is the principle of activity, and consequently the legitimacy of the passions as the motive power of activity. We cannot behold, without anguish of heart, this glorification of an active life in a man who was condemned never to act: it is true that he had, at least, the happiness of dying young. Another characteristic, not less essential in him, and which constitutes his real individuality, is that principle of sentiment, placed above reflective reason, which he has in common with Pascal, but which he does not bury, like Pascal, in sectarian spirit. He has left one

of those sayings which never pass away, and in which he is found entire: "GREAT THOUGHTS COME FROM THE HEART." "It is the soul that forms the mind," he says again. "It is the heart, and not the mind, that rules." Elsewhere he establishes the existence of pure love, the love of the soul, capable of sacrificing *the interest of the senses*, in order not to sully its ideal. This is very far from the maxims of the society of 1740.

He does not always maintain himself at this height: he has doubts; he has excesses;[1] he falls, in ethics as in metaphysics; but he always rises again; and, from his whole work, this conclusion proceeds, — that to him moral truths are as certain as mathematical truths, and that personal interest is in no wise the sole motive power of human actions. This was, indeed, the dawn of that philosophy of sentiment which alone could regenerate the spirit of France, fallen from the philosophy of pure reason to that of sensation.

If he had lived, there is reason to believe, from all his tendencies, that the aspirations of his heart would have assumed a more decided form in his mind, and that he would have left behind him Epicurean Deism, to attain to true religious sentiment and positive faith in immortality, the object of his passionate hope. Long divided between negative philosophy and positive religion, which he never treated with the lightness of his contemporaries; writing sometimes a treatise on *Free Will* in opposition to free will, and pages in which he proposed to himself for a recompense *the approbation of men* alone, sometimes a *Meditation on Faith* in the spirit of Bossuet, — he would, according to all appearances, have settled, after these great vibrations, at an intermediate point, on that summit where the author of the *Savoyard Vicar* was about to appear. The young thinker, who spoke only with profound respect of Descartes, so much derided by Voltaire, would have probably exercised a salutary influence over the latter, and perhaps have united Voltaire and Rousseau, and averted the intestine dissensions of philosophy.[2] This blessing was not in store for us.

[1] For example, he carries too far the independence of individual sentiment, and the disdain of common opinion and general reason. We seem already listening to the American Emerson.

[2] See the fine passage in which he discerns the unity of philosophy through the different opinions of the philosophers, and that noble fragment, entitled *Plan d'un livre de philosophie* (Gilbert edit, *Œuvres posthumes et œuvres inédites*, p. 69), much more powerful than the *Introduction à la Connaissance de l'Esprit humain*. He proposes in this the refutation of scepticism; the demonstration of the accordance of truths and

It was at least to the honor of Voltaire to have so well appreciated, respected, and loved this nature, so different from his own. Never did he speak of any one as he spoke of Vauvenargues.[1] Whenever this remembrance recurs to his heart, we feel his mocking lips cease to smile, and his voice become tearful; and we seem to hear already, instead of the light and trifling accents of Voltaire, the great voice that was soon to rise from Geneva.

Between the death of Vauvenargues and the departure of Voltaire for Prussia, there had appeared one of the greatest monuments of the eighteenth century, — the *Spirit of Laws*.

Montesquieu had returned from England in 1732 to his château of La Brède, which he did not quit again except at intervals. Voltaire and he, both so well fitted for society, had early felt the necessity of abstracting from the world the best part of themselves, in order to save time, the one to act, the other to think. In 1734, Montesquieu published his *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans*. This was somewhat severe for the public that had so warmly greeted the *Persian Letters*. Time was needed for the *Considerations* to prove a success. It was a masterpiece of composition and style; a new language, made for new thinkers; a new language, not through neologism, but through the rejuvenation and conciseness of form, and the original saliency of expression: the author treats the French idioms like coins which have been worn out by friction, and which are freshly coined to give them new relief. Through Voltaire and him, French prose attained a kind of perfection unknown in modern languages. Except in Pascal, who has all styles, the phraseology of the seventeenth century was still a little slow of movement in the majesty of its flowing dress: in Voltaire and Montesquieu, the prose of the eighteenth century, with its robes girded up like a warrior's, flies to the end as swiftly as verse itself. More graceful and simple in Voltaire, more nervous and studied in Montesquieu, almost equally brief and abrupt in both, it is no longer the language of narrative, but of battle.

As to the philosophical value of the *Considerations*, almost every thing that is found therein is admirable; but there are some very marked exceptions. As a theory of the politics of the Romans,

customs; the selection, union, and synthesis of the truths discovered in the last centuries; and the explanation of religion and morality.

[1] "If you had been born a few years sooner, my works would have been worth more." — Letter from Voltaire to Vauvenargues, April 4, 1744. — *Œuvres posthumes*, p. 272.

the general facts of history had never been so vigorously condensed, or so brilliantly elucidated; but this was not the case with the origin of that people, the essence of its religion, and the transformations of its laws.

This had been only a diversion from a greater work, which filled twenty years of the life of Montesquieu, and which is, so to speak, Montesquieu entire in the sight of posterity. The *Spirit of Laws* appeared in 1748, — a book without a model, and worthy of its motto.[1] We shall endeavor to evolve the true characteristics of this work through the circumspection with which the writer, more cautious than in the times of the *Persian Letters*, often surrounded his idea. For this, it will suffice to concentrate the views that he intentionally dispersed.

The *Spirit of Laws* is firmly based on the profundities of metaphysics, — profundities which Voltaire never penetrates. "Laws are the necessary relations that are derived from the nature of things: and in this sense all beings have their laws; divinity has its laws; the material world has its laws; . . . man has his laws. Those who affirm that a blind fatality has produced all the effects which we see in the world have affirmed a great absurdity; for what greater absurdity could there be than a blind fatality that had produced intelligent beings? There is, therefore, a primitive reason; and laws are the relations that are found between it and different beings, and the relations of these divers beings among themselves. God is necessarily in relation with the universe as its Creator and Preserver: the laws according to which he has created it are those according to which he preserves it. Creation, which appears to be an arbitrary act, supposes rules as invariable as the fatality of atheists. Particular intelligent beings may have laws which they have made; but they also have those which they have not made. Before there were any intelligent beings, they were possible: they therefore had possible relations, and, consequently, possible laws. Before any laws had been made, relations of justice were possible. To say that there is nothing just or unjust, except what is prescribed or forbidden by positive laws, is to say, that, before a circle was drawn, all the radii were not equal."

He next explains the necessity of positive laws, for the reason, that, while the physical world invariably follows the general laws which it has received from God, intelligent beings may and do

[1] *Prolem sine matre creatam.*

transgress their own. By the positive laws that they give themselves, they recall themselves to their duties.[1]

This first chapter carries back the philosophy of law to the height from which the eighteenth century had fallen; but Montesquieu does not remain there. No man of this generation could long breathe the air of those lofty summits. Montesquieu had perhaps, besides, other reasons for descending therefrom.

It seemed as if Montesquieu, after the manner of Descartes, should deduce, from the great *à priori* that he has laid down, the principles of sovereignty, law, duty, and nationalities, and investigate the nature of the positive laws most in conformity with universal justice and human nature; then compare this ideal with the realities, and judge the latter according as they approach more or less closely to the ideal.

He does nothing of the kind. After having laid down the metaphysical principle of laws, instead of inquiring what things should be, he seeks to know how things are or have been. He confusedly mingles principles and facts, and illogically falls back from metaphysics into history. Is this philosophical insufficiency? Can it be believed that his great mind was unconscious of this lack of logic? and is it not rather prudence? Would not a rigorous deduction from the general principles of justice necessarily have led him to deny the legitimacy of contemporaneous political society? We shall revert to the conflict that was perpetually waged, in the mind of Montesquieu, between the logic of ideas and the respect for facts.

Montesquieu begins, therefore, by investigating, under the name of the *Laws of Nature*, the motives which impelled the isolated man to become the social man, without affirming that this state of isolation ever really existed; he then shows the formation of society and of positive laws, the birth of the law of nations, of political law, of civil law, and finally of government. He lays down, in this respect, fact, and not law, by saying that the *general power* may be placed in the hands of one alone, or of several. He cursorily refutes the assertion of Bossuet, that the government of one alone is the most natural, because of its resemblance to the paternal power. "The government most in conformity with Nature is that which is most in accordance with the disposition of the people for which it is established. . . . Law, in general, is human

[1] Divine laws, he says elsewhere (liv. xxvi.), are invariable, because they are enacted with the knowledge of what is best: human laws are variable, because they are enacted with the knowledge of what is good, which may be replaced by what is better.

reason. The civil and political laws of each nation should be only the special cases in which this reason is applied. . . . The laws should accord with the nature and principle of the government which is established, or which it is wished to establish, . . . the physical structure of the country, and the climate." . . .

In insisting so forcibly on necessary diversities, he does not deny unity, but he leaves it too much in the shade. He does not sufficiently prove that there are general principles to which all nations should tend, despite the difference of genius and climate.

He passes next to the various kinds of governments, and lays down the classification so celebrated, and so much discussed: 1st, The Republic; 2d, Monarchy; 3d, Despotism; the first two, limited or regulated governments (that is, founded on laws); the third, violent and lawless. To confound in a single category, under the title of Republic, the government of a few (aristocracy), and the government of the whole (democracy), — the government of privilege and that of common law, — is wholly inadmissible, although there may be intermediate degrees which lessen the distance. To separate into two categories the government of a single man who governs by laws, and that of a single man who governs without laws, appears scarcely less questionable. If no power exists commissioned to oblige the king to respect the laws, the king very nearly approaches the despot; and, on the other hand, there is scarcely any despotic state wherein some kind of law — a religious code, for instance — does not exist.

There is, nevertheless, something more than decorum here in distinguishing French monarchy from Ottoman despotism. There is a very real difference, and one which Montesquieu clearly indicates. What characterizes the monarchy, such as he defines it, is the existence of privileged bodies, of a magistracy, and, above all, of a nobility hereditary like the king, who constitute social distinctions in the State, which the king has not created, and cannot destroy.[1] "No monarchy, no nobility; no nobility, no monarch, but a despot." In a monarchy, entailed estates, privileges of the nobility, not transferable to those who are not noble[2] (the French monarchy had degener-

[1] Another characteristic of prime importance may be added, — the existence of property and civil law in monarchies. Bossuet, in the *Politique de l'Écriture sainte*, had already indicated the distinction between monarchy and despotism, but without defining it.

[2] So long as they are not ennobled; for he admits of ennoblement for money, to absorb wealthy plebeians among the nobility. Nobles should not engage in trade. — Liv. xx.

ated by derogating from this principle), a magistracy owning its posts (consequently the vendibility of office), lastly a privileged clergy, are needed, which would be, on the contrary, very dangerous in a republic. Monarchy is a society hereditarily hierarchized. Despotism is a society of equals under one master; equality in nothingness (liv. ii. chap. v.).

All this is very just and very profound. Montesquieu judges, on his side, that monarchy cannot be associated with democracy, on the elective principle, without aristocracy, as D'Argenson dreamed; that hereditary transmission can be supported only by hereditary transmission.

The chapter on the conditions of democracy has not less scope. The people, says Montesquieu, in a democracy, should do by themselves all that they can do well, and the rest by their ministers (magistrates). It is a fundamental maxim, that they should appoint these. They need, besides, a council, or senate; the members of which they should appoint themselves, or cause to be appointed by a magistrate.[1] The people are admirably fitted to choose men to intrust with a part of their authority, — generals, prætors (judicial magistrates), and ediles (municipal magistrates), — but not to transact business. It belongs to the people alone to make the laws: however, it is often necessary for the senate to be able to enact and to make a trial of a law which should become definitive only by the sanction of the people.

We must seek in other parts of the book for the complement of these maxims. This is the theory of the *direct* democracy, in which the people vote the laws in person. This theory is allied, in the author, to the axiom, that the republic is adapted only to petty States;[2] an axiom which has vaguely remained in many minds, without being fully comprehended. He rectifies it a little farther on by affirming that there may be large republics by means of a federative constitution. He has only one more step to take to recognize the possibility of great unitary republics, all the parts of which, instead of being simply allied by a federal bond,

[1] The senate, in his opinion, should be appointed for life, if it is designed to be the ruler and centre of manners, of constituted tradition: if it is designed to shape public affairs, it should be elected for a limited time.

[2] Liv. viii. ch. xvi.–xx. A monarchy, he adds, should neither be small, nor very extensive. A great empire should be despotic. He does not give the true reason for this; namely, that a great empire is founded on the violation of nationalities: it is a factitious aggregation, which can only be maintained by violence.

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are united by a system of delegation or representation which concentrates and expresses in its aggregate the national life. Here antiquity no longer furnishes examples, since it knew political society only under the two forms of the tribe and the city, and not under that of great modern nationalities. Montesquieu takes this step:—

"As, in a free State, every man who is reputed to have a free soul should be governed by himself, it would be necessary for the people in a body to have the legislative power; but as this is impossible in large States, and is subject to many inconveniences in small ones, the people should do through their representatives all that they cannot do themselves. The great advantage of representatives is that they are capable of discussing affairs. The people are not at all fit for this. It is unnecessary for the representatives, who have received general instructions from those by whom they have been chosen, to receive special ones for each affair.[1] All citizens in the different districts should have the right to give their vote in the choice of a representative, except those who are in such a state of degradation that they are reputed to have no will of their own." There was a great defect in the majority of the ancient republics; namely, that the people had the right therein to resolve on active measures demanding execution; a thing of which they are utterly incapable. They should participate in the government only in the choice of their representatives, which is quite within their capacity. "Neither should the representative body be chosen to resolve on any active measures,—a thing which it would not do well; but to make laws, or to see that those which it has made are rightly executed,—a thing that it can do very well, and even that no one else can do properly."—Liv. xi. chap. vi.

This, then, is the theory of representative democracy, in its turn.

It is necessary to complete the principles laid down by Montesquieu concerning the nature of the republic by another principle, to which he attaches prime importance,—the separation of powers. "In order that power shall not be abused," he says, "arrangements must be made that one power may be checked by another. There are three kinds of power in each State,—the legislative power, the executor of matters that are within the jurisdiction of the laws of nations (or public laws), and the executor of matters within the jurisdiction of the civil law (or

[1] He admits of *imperative* mandates, therefore, only for general direction, and not for special questions.

private law); in other terms, the legislative, executive proper, and judiciary powers.[1] There is no liberty if the legislative power is joined to the executive, there is no liberty if the judicial power is not separate from both the others.[2] The power of judging should not be given to a permanent body, but should be exercised by persons taken from the masses of the people. Individual liberty should be suspended only in extreme cases, and by permission of the legislative power.

He judges these conditions indispensable to all free ogvernment.[3]

After examining the nature of the three kinds of government, he investigates their principle; that is, the motive power which causes them to act. In the *republic*, this is *virtue;* that is, the love of country and of equality. He blames those who wish to give as props to the *republic*, instead of *virtue*, manufactures, commerce, finances, riches, even luxury. Nevertheless, he speedily softens the rigor of these antique maxims, and admits that democracy may be founded on commerce, and that there may be wealthy private individuals, provided that these rich men are not idle, that the law of transmission divides fortunes proportionately, and that the too great inequality of property is remedied by the imposition of taxes on the rich, and the granting of relief to the poor.[4]

Monarchy, on its part, subsists independently of political virtue, "which is moral virtue in the sense that it proceeds with a view to the public good. In a monarchy, it is very difficult for the

[1] The *Three Essential Powers* of Montesquieu are by no means the *executive power* and the *two chambers*, — a secondary theory, of which we shall speak directly.

[2] In the greater part of the European kingdoms, he says, the first two powers are united in the hands of the king; but he leaves to his subjects the exercise of the third, which is the reason why limited but not free governments still exist there. He assimilates, on the contrary, the republic of Venice to the Turkish government, because the three powers are there united. He greatly desires here to spare the government under which he lives.

[3] Liv. xi. The political *balance*, of which so much has been said, consisted with him in a certain equilibrium between the legislative and executive powers. It may be remarked, that, to attain the end he proposes, it is not necessary that these powers should be equal: it suffices that their attributes should be distinct, and that the legislative power, while ruling the general policy of the government, should not meddle in the administration.

[4] As Montesquieu indicates, the republic, by the very fact of its existence, tends to call forth and develop the virtue that it demands by obliging the citizens to occupy themselves unceasingly with collective interests and general ideas, and by placing man in social surroundings conformed to his true nature. Education, moreover, should systematically prepare the rising generation for these. A publicist of our times, in a remarkable study on Montesquieu, has said, with reason, that the essential *virtue* of democracy, its true principle, is justice. — P. Janet, *Hist. de la Philosophie morale et politique*, t. II. p. 371, 1858.

people to be virtuous. Ambition in idleness, baseness in pride, the desire to enrich one's self without labor, aversion to truth, flattery, treason, perfidy, contempt for the duties of a citizen, . . . and perpetual ridicule of virtue, form the marked character of the majority of courtiers in all places and in all times. Now, it is very difficult for the greater part of the leaders of a State to be dishonest men, and the inferiors good men; for the former to be deceivers, and the latter to consent to be nothing but dupes."—Liv. iii. chap. v. The motive power of *monarchy* is, therefore, something else,—*honor;* "that is, the prejudication of each person and each condition, the love of preferences and distinctions,"[1] takes the place therein of virtue.[2]

As to *despotism*, it has no other motive power than *fear*.

The nature and the motive power of the different governments defined, Montesquieu proves in what manner each of these governments becomes corrupted. Democracy is corrupted, either by the loss of the spirit of equality or by extreme equality, when each one wishes to be equal to the magistrates, and the people wish to do every thing by themselves; to deliberate upon, execute, and pronounce judgment on every thing. It is not essential to true equality that every one should command, or that no one should command, but that all should obey and command their equals.

The aristocratic republic is corrupted when it becomes hereditary; that is, apparently, when hereditary transmission enters the senate and the magistracy.[3] The monarchy is corrupted when the privileges of corporations and municipalities are abolished. Despotism is corrupted by the natural development, and not by the excess of its principle, which is excess in itself.

It is in livre xi., *On the Laws that form Political Liberty*, that the famous panegyric of the English government is found, which, it has been too often pretended, absorbs the whole political philosophy of Montesquieu. He begins by distinguishing therein *the liberty of the people* from *the power of the people*, or democracy.

[1] This definition of honor is more than questionable. — See the excellent reflections on this subject in P. Janet, *ibid.* pp. 364–366, and 374–378.

[2] Liv. iv.: *That the laws on education should correspond with the principles of the government*, contains an admirable chapter on education in monarchies. He sets forth elsewhere the contrast that exists among us between religious and secular education, — a contrast which was unknown to the ancients, and which has such singular effects. This opposition could not exist in a republic.

[3] We pass by his acute and profound observations on aristocratic republics, as having little positive interest to-day. We will only remark, that he does not desire primogenitureship therein: this is suited to monarchies.

He defines political liberty as the right to do all that the laws permit,[1] which, in fact, may exist outside of pure democracy. He then lays down, as the conditions of liberty, the separation of the powers, the judgment by peers, the guarantee of individual liberty, and the representative theory that we have analyzed above.

These principles are applicable to every free State; but Montesquieu does not present them under this abstract aspect: in the beginning of livre xi., he proves that each State has a particular object; that *the delight of the prince* is the object of despotic States, and that *his glory and that of the State* are the objects of monarchies; and that there is one nation (the English) which has for its object *political liberty*. He examines the principles of the constitution of this nation. "If they are good," he says, "liberty will be reflected in them as in a mirror." The consequence of this theme thus laid down,—that is, of the general principles common to England and all other free States,—he passes to the special principles of the English constitution,—a constitution which is not comprised in any of the categories that he has defined, but which is a combination of the different governments that he styles *limited;* that is, of the aristocratic republic, the democracy, and the monarchy.[2] He systematizes them in this wise: 1st, The division of the legislature into two bodies, the one elective, and representing the people; the other noble and hereditary, and having the right of *veto* only in respect to financial matters. 2d, The attribution of the executive power to an inviolable monarch, having the right of *veto*, with responsible ministers, etc. Here, again, his sagacity must be acknowledged: the plan of the *mixed* government once admitted,[3] it is very difficult for the hereditary transmission of the monarchy to subsist without the hereditary transmission of the chamber of nobles.[4]

[1] Liberty, he says again, consists in being able to do what we ought to desire, and in not being constrained to do what we ought not to desire.—Liv. ix. chap. iii. This second definition is of much more value than the other; for we cannot be free *in doing all that the law permits*, if the law is oppressive.

[2] If it is absolutely necessary to classify this constitution, it may be comprised in the category of the republic, although it is allied to only one of the republican principles, but the first of all,—liberty. It has been, since 1688, much nearer a republic than a monarchy, as the final decision belongs, in fact, to the representative assembly.

[3] Let us add, and its existing elements: for an hereditary aristocracy could not be artificially created where it does not exist; and we are to beware of the belief, that from all nobility may arise an aristocracy.

[4] It must nevertheless be observed, that Montesquieu, whatever may be the motive for this omission, does not speak of the hereditary transmission of royalty. We will

He therefore gives the theory of the English constitution as it had never been given in England. The politicians had practised, without analyzing, this constitution, the work of time, and not of ideas: the philosophers, Locke above all, had passed it by to proceed to the pure republic.[1] The English nation, therefore, owed gratitude to Montesquieu: he had revealed it, as it were, to itself.

In the French point of view, and in the philosophical point of view, there are some reservations to be made here; but it is just to remember what objects of comparison Montesquieu had before his eyes: he was living under the government of *lettres de cachet* and revenue-farmers when he depicted this neighboring system of society, where the liberty of the pen and so many other liberties ruled; when he wrote these admirable pages, in which he gives the secret of the strength of England, of her facility in enduring the most onerous taxes during public dangers, because she knows that she will pay, how she will pay, and why she will pay; of that credit, in fine, which so closely binds the citizens to the State, and which permits England "to undertake things above her natural strength, and to employ against her enemies immense fictitious wealth, which the confidence in and the nature of her government render real."[2] He may well be excused, having no living example of *equality* or of *virtue* before him, for having cast his eyes where he at least saw *liberty*.

The great *historical* idea of Montesquieu, which a circumspection easily comprehended did not permit him clearly to set forth, but which transpires through his whole book, is that the *mixed* government existed throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, when the enfranchised Third Estate had completed the elements of the *Gothic* (German) government, — the royalty, nobility, and clergy; that this government was organized in a lasting manner only in

add, that he is fully conscious of the incompatibility of the mixed government with large standing armies in the hands of the executive power.

[1] In the *Esprit des Lois*, Montesquieu appears to believe that the English constitution will perish, in the end, through despotism: in his *Pensées posthumes*, he fears, on the contrary, that it will return to a republic, which would render England too strong, and too formidable to her neighbors.

[2] Liv. xix. ch. xxvii. With the political advantage of credit, he sees its economical objections, the danger of large debts, — a danger which is nevertheless exaggerated. — See liv. xxii. ch. xvii. It is in this same chapter that he so well points out the essential qualities of the English character, — the strong individuality, the incessant activity, and the continual exercise of reason applied to politics. He is infinitely less favorable to the English in his *Pensées détachées*, in which he shows himself so indignant at their political venality, their harshness, and their selfishness.

England; that elsewhere it degenerated into monarchy;[1] and that monarchy, by the gradual abolition of privileges, the relics of the mixed government, was tending either to despotism or to the *popular State* (liv. ii. ch. iv.).

It was soon, indeed, to pass through despotism to the republic.

If the historical and practical sympathy of Montesquieu is given to the mixed government, it must not, however, be forgotten, as is too often done, that his philosophical sympathy belongs to a higher ideal: if England has *political* liberty, she has not *virtue*, she has not *equality*. It was for want of virtue, he says, that she was unable to establish democracy in her midst in the seventeenth century (liv. iii. ch. iii.). The mixed government is, therefore, inferior in theory to the democratic republic.

We have endeavored to analyze somewhat in detail those parts of Montesquieu's work which have most agitated the world, and which philosophical and political parties have discussed for a whole century. It remains for us rapidly to indicate the opinions expressed on other points than the political constitution in this book, which touches with more or less profundity on all social questions.

With respect to *penal laws*, Montesquieu is in favor of the moderation of penalties, without expressing any doubt as to the legitimacy and necessity of capital punishment. He censures barbarous penalties and torture. The criminal laws should make each penalty conform to the special nature of the crime. The penalty for sacrilege, for instance, should be simply the privation of the advantages given by religion. He considers penal laws only in relation to social security, and not to the effect of the punishment on the mind of the criminal. He forcibly stigmatizes political espionage.

He imposes excessive duties on society. "The State owes to all its citizens a secure support, food, suitable clothing, and a mode of life which is not contrary to health."—Liv. xxiii. ch. xxix. It is needless to say that the greatness of the duties of the citizen corresponds, in his mind, to the great duties which he imposes on the State.

With respect to taxation, he pronounces himself strongly in

[1] Hence arises his exaggerated antipathy, retrogressive in some respects, to Louis XIV. The brilliant monarchy of the seventeenth century is to him only the corruption of that of the fourteenth. Hence also arises that paradox on Richelieu, whom he calls, in his *Pensées*, one of the worst citizens that France ever had.

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A Boizot del Romæ
C. Dupuis Sculp.
JULES CARDINAL
ALBERONI
Né à Plaisance, le 30. Mars 1664.
Paris chez Odieuvre Md. d'Estampes Quay de l'Ecole vis à vis le côté de la Samarit.e à la belle Image.

favor of progressive taxation, as to direct and personal taxes: *necessaries* should not be subject to taxation; *conveniences* should be taxed, but less than *superfluities*. He approves of taxation on merchandise, provided that the tax is paid by the vender, and not by the purchaser, which is felt less by the public, and that the taxation is proportioned to the value of the commodities. The freer the nation, the heavier are the taxes that can be demanded from it. The system of direct collection of the taxes by the administration is far preferable to that of farming them out to individuals. (He remarks, that, in England, the excise, or tax on beverages, the customs and the postal dues, are collected directly by the government.)

The disorderly augmentation of the number of troops is also destroying all the large European States.[1] Not only are the tributes perpetually increased, but, the revenues being no longer sufficient, the capital is employed in carrying on war.

He approves of loans at interest; "a thing," he says, "naturally allowable or necessary. Money must have a price; but it should be inconsiderable. Usury (interest) must not be proscribed, but reduced to just limits."

He does not approve of the taxation of the value of merchandise by the prince or the magistrate; but he considers it right that a nation should protect its commerce against foreign competition, as the English do (liv. xx. ch. xii.). He already fears the increase of machinery, which would lessen the number of workmen (liv. xxiii. ch. xv.).

Concerning inheritances, he maintains that children do not inherit from their fathers by natural right, and that the order of inheritance is within the jurisdiction of political or civil law. Doubtless it belongs to the civil law to establish the equilibrium between the individual right to bequeath and the hereditary right of the family, to regulate and limit the transmission of property which is effected between parents and children; but to deny that any transmission whatever from parents to children is a natural right is to deny the natural solidarity of generations. Strange to say, Montesquieu does not seem to distinguish the radical difference that exists between the inheritance of functions and the inheritance of property; only he argues against the civil right of succession the confusion which the partisans of monarchical hereditary transmission seek to turn to the advantage of the political right of succession (liv. xxvi. ch. vi.).

[1] The Marshal de Saxe says the same thing. — See his notes, in the *Esprit de la Tactique*.

Montesquieu does not make the same confusion between political right and civil right as regards property; here he very clearly lays down the limits: he acknowledges that public right cannot annihilate individual right; that, for example, the State cannot take forcible possession of private property, without an indemnity (liv. xxvi. ch. xv.).

Concerning the question of the marriage of relatives, he has not all the moral elevation desirable, and grave historical errors are to be found in him: nevertheless, the conclusions are sound; the interdiction of marriage, *incest*, ends where the domestic circle ends. The domestic circle, the family group, being more extended in the primitive tribe than in modern society, the interdiction necessarily embraced more degrees of relationship.

He forcibly attacks slavery with an indignation that takes the form of bitter raillery, and demands the abolition of negro slavery through an agreement of the law of nations (liv. xv. ch. v.). To him is due the initiative of this great idea.

His renowned theory of *climates* deserves our attention for a moment: he makes these almost the only basis of the diversity of nations, laws, and manners, and does not take into account as he ought either those native diversities of races which may be modified, but neither created nor destroyed, by climate, or the power of ideas and beliefs which modify races as much as the climate itself. He has not fathomed the question of nationalities, as we perceive still better in what he says of conquests, although he has very sound and humane maxims concerning the law of war (liv. x.). The conquering heroism of the Arabs, the children of a burning soil, and the servility which frozen Russia has carried to fanaticism, seem to attest that the North is not necessarily more devoted to liberty than the South to effeminacy.[1]

He makes a very daring application of the theory of climates as regards women: he shows them naturally inferior to men in warm countries, almost their equals in temperate countries, and become morally their superiors in cold countries, inasmuch as they are strangers to the general vice of the men of the North, — drunkenness. He draws from this a kind of justification of polygamy in warm climates.[2]

[1] He foresees the objection as to Russia, and makes a very striking answer; namely, that barbarism and despotism are not natural to this Northern people, this European race, but were brought thither by Asiatics, by the Tartars. — See liv. xix.

[2] The best answer to be made is, that, in the countries where polygamy is permitted, it is scarcely any thing more than the luxury of the wealthy, and that it does not constitute the groundwork of the existence of any people.

Through the discretion in which he shrouds himself, and the sincere praises that he gives to Christianity, taken in its most general acceptation, he applies his theory not less rigorously to religion. Christianity, he says, is adapted to the limited government; Mahometanism, to the despotic government. To Christianity is due a political law and a law of nations, for which human nature cannot be too grateful. Catholicism is better suited to monarchies; Protestantism, to republics:[1] the Northern nations have embraced it on account of their spirit of independence and liberty. It is the climate that has set bounds to the Christian religion and to Mahometanism.

Although there may be profundity in a few of these observations, it may be affirmed, that, in general, what concerns religion is the weakest part of the *Spirit of Laws*. Montesquieu, the question of climates apart, in which he presents the different religions as an effect, and not a cause, considers them only in their results, in their practical utility, not in their principles: he does not go back to those religious conceptions of the laws of life according to which societies are moulded, and from which positive laws proceed. This is an immense hiatus. He, the only man of the eighteenth century who had a certain respect for traditions, had not, however, a sufficient feeling of them to appreciate what was most fundamental in the past.

He takes the question of religious liberty, like that of religion itself, solely in the point of view of the social interest: he does not wish a new religion to be received into a State, because it would be a cause of discord; but, when it is once established there, he desires that it should be tolerated, and that penal laws should be avoided in religious matters, because they do not attain their end. He quits this cold reasoning, however, when the Inquisition is in question, in an impulse of lofty and generous indignation.

The *Spirit of Laws* ends with a purely historical exposition of the revolutions of civil law and feudal law in France. The author supports Boulainvilliers in opposition to Dubos as to the Frankish conquest and the Frankish origin of the nobility:[2]

[1] It is curious to compare this with the prediction of the *Lettres Persanes*; see *ante*, p. 335.

[2] See *ante*, p. 322. His sympathetic attention to every thing that concerned the Franks made him see clearly into the nature of the famous *Salic Law*, the object of so much discussion before and after him. — See liv. xviii. ch. xxii. There is little to add to what he has said of it.

altogether lawyer and Southerner as he is, he shows himself much more Frank and German than Roman in sentiment and tradition. The spirit of the nobility rules in this last part of his work; his mind delights in the multifold life of the Middle Ages; the spirit of modern unity astonishes and repels him; he chafes at the increasing tendency to uniformity of laws: to make a general law of all special local laws, would be, in his opinion, "an inconsiderate thing." This genius, so innovating, here falls back entirely upon the past.

Both friends and adversaries have often judged Montesquieu wholly by this portion of his work and the chapters relating to the English constitution. The analysis that we have given of his opinions as a whole will show whether these judgments are well founded. There were two men in Montesquieu, two different spirits, which he never succeeded in harmonizing: herein is the secret of his contradictions. The French spirit and the English spirit, the philosophical spirit which judges facts according to the ideas of reason and conscience, and the traditional spirit which submits to and explains facts instead of judging them, and which seeks its ideal in the past, struggled unceasingly in him. He fluctuated between the reality of England, free in inequality, and the ideal of the democratic republic;[1] he went to the farthest bounds of inconsistency: the man of tradition constituted entailment in the family; the man of ideas went so far as to deny that there is any natural right in inheritance. Except the partisans of pure political and religious despotism, all parties for a century past, democrats and aristocrats, republicans and constitutional monarchists, conservatives of the so-called historical school, and socialists, have proceeded from Montesquieu; but the republicans have too often forgotten what they owed him, and have too easily yielded him to their adversaries: he was worth the trouble of dispute, and a great part of his soul belonged to them.[2]

We may sum up Montesquieu by saying that he was the exponent of political liberty, as Voltaire was the exponent of tolerance, of the liberty of thought. It has been observed with reason, that

[1] He has a lively presentiment of the United States.—See what he writes concerning Penn, liv. iv. ch. vi.

[2] With respect to the study of the great work which has agitated, if not resolved, all the questions relative to law, we should cite, as expressing the most advanced point which the theory seems to us to have reached at the present time, the article *Droit* of the *Encyclopédie nouvelle*, by M. Théodore Fabas.

the order of subjects often appears arbitrary in the *Spirit of Laws;* that the method leaves much to be desired; that the positive knowledge of the author is not on a level with the subject; that he does not know all that might have been known in his times; and that he does not always exercise the necessary discrimination in the choice of his documents. Among the contemporaries of Montesquieu, many paused at the shell, at the sallies, the sprightly turn of thought, and believed that there was nothing but wit in that book in which there was so much wit; but the man who studies Montesquieu seriously, is appalled, as it were, at the infinite variety of rapid perception, and the immense power of reflection and concentration, demanded by such an enterprise. It will be comprehended, that, exhausted on reaching the end, he declared that he *would work no more.* He had time to see the prodigious success of his book, signalized in the space of eighteen months by twenty-two French editions, and numerous translations into different languages; but he did not long survive it: he died, at a comparatively early age, February 10, 1755. He repulsed the importunities of the Jesuits who besieged his dying bed to wring from him retractions, and answered them only by these words: "I have always respected religion: the morality of the Gospel is the best gift that God could have made to mankind." He received the viaticum from the hands of the curé. "You understand," said the priest, "how great is God."—"Yes, and how small are men!" he replied; then peacefully closed his eyes.

He left a few opuscules, an *Essay on Taste*, and *Divers Thoughts*. We meet in these lofty, ingenious, and sometimes paradoxical views, judgments more than questionable, particularly concerning poetry and the fine arts, and bold strokes that reveal the groundwork of his belief on important points. The principles therein present some contradictions on the subject of psychology: however, he shows himself unequivocally spiritualistic. He finds, he says, in metaphysical ideas, apart from revealed ideas, if not an entire certainty, at least a very great hope, of immortality; and he protests, with a sort of generous pride, against those who accept entire annihilation. We give a few other characteristic passages: "God is like a monarch who has several nations under his dominion. All come to bring him tribute, and each speaks a different tongue,— the different religions. Ecclesiastics; flatterers of princes, when they cannot be their tyrants. They are interested in keeping the people in ignorance; otherwise, the Gospel being simple, the latter would say, 'We know

all this as well as you.' Three things are incredible among the things that are incredible,—the pure mechanism of animals, passive obedience, and the infallibility of the Pope."

The definitive religious opinions of Montesquieu appear, therefore, to be summed up in this wise: God, the immortality of the soul, the Gospel as the moral law, hostility to the Papacy and the Roman Church, and perhaps to all positive theology, which seems indicated by his bitter speeches against the priests. It is important to verify this; for what was only indicated in him was about to be developed by another on a large scale, and with an immense power of sentiment. The religion of Montesquieu, with its superiority over that of Voltaire, and also with its hiatuses, was to be the religion of Rousseau, who, in politics, was to be likewise the successor to Montesquieu, and to develop his republican tendency, while setting aside the opposite tendency.[2]

Montesquieu disappeared in the midst of an extraordinary movement of minds, which he encouraged with his last looks, but which he would certainly have wished to modify and temper. The progress of the natural sciences, bursting forth with an unexampled glory, was intoxicating intellects, and raising up an enthusiastic *naturalism*, which differed essentially from the cold incredulity of the first half of the century, but which joined ancient scepticism and vulgar logic with blind impetuosity in carrying sensualistic philosophy to its farthest consequences, arrested for some time by the practical good sense of Voltaire. At the same time that philosophy penetrated the secrets and celebrated the magnificence of the physical world, it was shaking all the foundations of the moral world. Minds were drifting towards chaos. The human conscience then protested. The philosophy of sentiment set itself up in opposition to that of sensation. Montesquieu would have applauded sentiment in the name of reason! The soul of France was about to be disputed in giant struggles, no longer between the innovators and the past,—in favor of which no powerful voice protested,—but among the innovators themselves; as if the ancient order had already disappeared, and nothing longer was in question but to dispute its inheritance. A host of new athletes filled the arena: Buffon was already resplendent, like the king of beasts in the midst of Nature; Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, were urging forward the tumultuous league of the

[1] He would develop it, but would compromise it by assigning too much to unity, and not enough to liberty.

[2] See the *Pensées*, in t. VII. of the *Œuvres complètes*, 8vo, 1819.

Encyclopædia; Rousseau was rising, alone against all the others. The sphere of facts was beginning to tremble at the noise of the tempest that was overthrowing the sphere of ideas; and the observers who coolly examined the movement of things foresaw the formidable era that was about to be born. "All that might be has not yet been thought," wrote the aged Fontenelle in 1743:[1] "the vast future has events in store for us which we would not believe to-day, could any one predict them." Before the end of this century, ten years after, Chesterfield wrote, "The trade of both king and priest will not be half so good a one as it has been. All the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist, and daily increase, in France."[2]

[1] In the preface of an edition of his Comedies. Duclos also gives remarkable prognostications.

[2] *Letters* of April 13, 1752; and December 25, 1753.

CHAPTER VI.

LOUIS XV. (Continued).

France and her Colonies.—Manufactures and Commerce. Reign of Madame de Pompadour. The *Parc-aux-Cerfs*. Machault attempts to reform the Finances. He is thwarted by the Resistance of the Privileged Classes. Quarrels of the Parliament with the Clergy and the Court. War of the *Certificates of Confession*. Secret Diplomacy of Louis XV. Progress and Conquests of Dupleix and Bussi in India. The whole Deccan under the Rule of France. Greatness of the Plans of Dupleix. He attempts to secure India to France. He is disavowed and recalled through Deference to England. Hostilities between the French and English Colonists of the American Continent. Respective Situations of Canada and British America. The English attack Canada, and capture our Merchantmen without a Declaration of War. Pusillanimity of the Cabinet of Versailles. Long and Useless Negotiations. Opening of the Seven-Years' War.

1748–1756.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, France, with that vitality which is characteristic of her, speedily revived, at least so far as regarded the things most apparent,—as the large towns, the manufacture of superfluities, foreign commerce, the ports and *the isles* (as our flourishing West-India Islands were preëminently styled). It was this that permitted Voltaire so much to extol the years that followed 1748.[1] After so many mistakes and reverses, imputable almost solely to the government, there remained to France more brilliant opportunities than ever to found a colonial empire, had she known how to profit by the lessons of the past, and to reorganize a navy, so deeply had the maritime and colonial genius taken root among the nation.[2]

[1] "All Europe saw few better days than from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to about 1755. Commerce flourished from St. Petersburg to Cadiz; the fine arts were everywhere in honor; a mutual correspondence was seen between all nations; Europe resembled a great family reunited after its differences."—*Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. xxxi.

[2] In 1750, some rich merchants established at Paris a marine insurance company, with a capital of twelve millions, in order that French commerce might no longer address itself to foreign companies. This was the revival of an institution of Colbert's times.—See the *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. II. p. 349; London, 1781.

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Within, the situation of manufactures was not so good. Here it was necessary to make many innovations, yet less to make than to unmake; that is, to relax the bonds on labor, — those leading-strings, formerly salutary, which had become fetters. The English manufactures were developing under a system of industrial liberty; and the application of mechanics to manufactures was beginning to enter upon that wondrous career in which it has never been arrested. The French manufactures, for the most part, remained stationary under the empire of unvarying regulations. The organization of masterships and wardenships (of trade corporations) kept merchandise and manufactured articles at a high price, which rendered them inaccessible to the peasants, who were compelled to clothe themselves only in the coarsest stuffs. The manufacturer oppressed the peasant indirectly, and the apprentice directly, to the common detriment of agriculture, and the true interest of manufactures, which should aim at cheapness and abundance. The manufacturers were oppressed, in their turn, without being really conscious of it, by those statutes which routine made them consider a protection. While Madame de Pompadour and the women of fashion introduced into the elegant world the English *India muslins* and other foreign novelties, the manufacturers of costly stuffs were seen "waiting sadly, by their slackened looms, for a return of ancient fashions and ancient manners to reawaken a demand for their rich and heavy products."[1] The results were the same in the manufacture of cloths. "The regulations seemed to require each one to restrict himself to the exclusive service of a certain class of consumers. The corporations had exclusive rights against each other; and had any one invented a great plan of manufacture, that would have economically embraced all the operations and accessories which effect and accompany the successive transformations of the material, he would have found himself encroaching upon twenty State corporations. He could not have shown his machines, and carried his processes to perfection, without having to undergo twenty suits."[2]

This torpor, however, was not universal. In a few of our towns, the manufacturers had been wise enough to cling to the spirit rather than the letter of Colbert's system. The inventive spirit of the

[1] Vincens, *Journal des Économistes*, t. II. p. 2. This quotation is especially applicable to a somewhat later period. The richness of costume did not begin to diminish until a few years after the middle of the century.

[2] Vincens, *ibid.*

people of Lyons, for instance, eluded the fetters of the regulations, and daily increased the renown of their tissues. At Nîmes, about 1750, the manufacturers obtained the favor, by tacit tolerance, of throwing off their regulations. They thenceforth invented elegant tissues of pure or mixed silks for the use of classes in moderate circumstances, lowered their prices, and modified their manufactures according to the needs and the changes of taste.[1] Certain northern towns entered upon the same course with respect to light fabrics of thread (lawns and linens).

It was not enough to tolerate, it was necessary to instigate, improvements, and to facilitate them by modifying the industrial statutes. The government did nothing of the kind, and could find no better course to counterbalance the progress of England than to enter upon the purely prohibitory system, — a system always powerless abroad, and always pernicious at home.

Agriculture, still sacrificed, tended, however, to improve at certain points of France, owing to the efforts of a few enlightened land-owners and a few well-meaning administrators. The movement of ideas began to be directed towards this vital interest; but nothing of importance could be done in favor of the rural districts, so long as the fiscal system subsisted.

One man in the ministry was fully disposed to reform the fiscal system: we shall directly see the result of his endeavors. Meanwhile there is room for mention of some institutions of a different kind, founded by the government during the period that occupies us. 1st, A new branch of luxury, the manufacture of porcelain at Vincennes, transferred, a few years after, to Sèvres (1748), — a brilliant invention, which freed France from the tribute that she was paying to Saxony;[2] 2d, A useful institution for the superintendence and maintenance of national intercourse, the bureau, then the school, of bridges and highways (1751); 3d, A great establishment, suggested to the minister of war (the Count d'Argenson) by the aged Pâris Duvernei, — the military school (January, 1751), designed to instruct, at the expense of the State, five hundred young noblemen without fortune, and to fit them for service. The royal ordinance exacted four generations at least of nobility on the father's side. Another recent ordinance (November, 1750) had inadequately compensated in advance for this measure of aristocratic exclusiveness. Formerly the noble and the warrior were one: the military rank conferred nobility in it-

[1] Vincens, *ibid.*, and *Revue de Législation et de Jurisprudence*, t. XVII. p. 72.
[2] *Journal du règne de Louis XV.* t. II. p. 56.

self. This had long since ceased; and nothing was more shocking than to see a revenue-farmer, or a usurer, acquire the privileges of nobility with the money of which he had robbed the people; while a brave officer, poor, and covered with wounds, was subjected to the villain-tax as a *roturier*. The Count d'Argenson only partially put an end to these strange contrasts. He caused it to be decided that officers in active service should be exempt from the villain-tax; that retired officers, who had served twenty years in the rank of captain, should be exempted for life; and that general officers and their posterity should be nobles by law.[1]

Moreover, the modifications that might be introduced into the order of the nobility were not long to be of importance, as the elder D'Argenson had truly foreseen.[2] There were things which it was more essential to do, and which, unfortunately, were not done while peace gave the leisure for it; namely, to make our army acquainted with the progress of the military art, and to initiate it into the new Prussian tactics. A feeble desire to do this was manifested; but no one knew how to set to work, so ignorant were the general officers of their vocation. Narrow and unmethodical attempts were made at the Invalides and in the camps of the peace establishment. The Marshal de Saxe had just died (November 30, 1750) with his head full of projects of reform, and had borne away with him all the science of warfare that remained to us. It is evident, by a letter from Maurice de Saxe to the minister of war, that he foresaw the consequences of the lack of discipline and ignorance into which the army had fallen; but, as he had not fathomed the Prussian system, he does not indicate any remedy in this letter for the evil clearly pointed out. He would probably have found this remedy, that is, have stolen the secret of Frederick II., had not a premature end, the effect of his excesses, snatched him from France.[3]

[1] *Anciennes Lois françaises*, t. XXII. pp. 238, 242.

[2] See *ante*, p. 326.

[3] See the *Éloge de Frédéric le Grand*, by M. de Guibert. In his letter to the Count d'Argenson, Maurice declares that the French army was destined to avoid pitched battles and manœuvres, and to strive to confine themselves to sudden attacks and skirmishes. He was only too good a prophet. His military works, *Rêveries, Notes*, etc., published in 1757, are a most interesting study. He wishes to render the equipments of the soldiery more healthful and more convenient; to cause the heavy cavalry to resume defensive armor and the lance; to cause the infantry to use the cadence step like the Prussians; to decide attacks by the bayonet, and not by firing; to establish a school for staff-officers; to cause the higher grades to be given, no longer by seniority, but by merit; to have machines always ready for the defence of the harbors, with which intrenchments could be formed instantaneously under water, at the entrance of the

The eminent generals disappeared with Maurice de Saxe and Lowendahl, who survived his companion in arms only a short time (he died in March, 1755). The statesmen had been expelled from power in the persons of Chauvelin and the elder D'Argenson: there remained in the ministry two men of talent, but without general views, — Machault and the younger D'Argenson. The government was constantly sinking into deeper degradation under the sway of Madame de Pompadour. The impaired health of the favorite, from 1752, gradually produced a change in her relations with the King, which seemed destined to sweep away her fortunes: nothing of the kind occurred. She had secured by the resources of her mind the empire that she had won by her face: the art of amusing the most listless of men,[1] and the omnipotence of habit, rendered her dominion impregnable. The mistress transformed herself into a necessary friend, a constant counsellor at all hours, a prime minister in point of fact. She had caused the honors reserved to duchesses to be given her (the tabouret in 1752); she imposed herself on poor Maria Leczinska as lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen (in 1756); she claimed the right to exact in her house from the great nobles, and even from the princes of the blood, the marks of deference formerly accorded to Madame de Maintenon; and the greater part were base enough to submit. The *friend of the King* played a double part: in public, she simulated virtue, and caused the *present* innocence of her relations with Louis XV. to be loudly sounded. She even offered to return to her husband;

ports, in order to stop the vessels and fire-ships; and to create a light infantry closely analogous to our *Vincennes chasseurs*. Anxious to protect the life and health of the soldiers, he regrets the defensive armor of former times. He blends sentiments of humanity with his vices. He strives to put an end to the cruel custom of burning the suburbs of threatened towns, and to put spies in irons instead of hanging them. He philosophizes sometimes more seriously than in that strange *Mémoire sur la Population* of which we have spoken elsewhere. "What a spectacle do nations present to us to-day! We see a few wealthy, indolent, and voluptuous men, who secure their happiness at the expense of the multitude, . . . that can only exist by unceasingly preparing for them new pleasures. This assemblage of oppressors and oppressed form what is called society; and this society collects its vilest and most contemptible elements, and makes them its soldiers. It was not with such manners, or with such arms, that the Romans conquered the universe." It is not Montesquieu, it is not Rousseau, that speaks thus: it is Maurice de Saxe in his *Rêveries!* Maurice wishes every Frenchman to be a soldier for five years, without exception. It is seen, by his reflections, that duels were still frequent in the army, and that capital punishment for this offence existed only on paper. The duel was reputed a fortuitous encounter, or else the leaders of the corps aided the duellists to escape. A chronicle of 1742 relates that the Cardinal de Fleuri himself advised his nephew to fight with an officer of his regiment that had provoked him. — *Revue rétrospective*, t. IV. p. 444.

[1] From this period dates the playhouse of Versailles (1748).

secretly warning him, meanwhile, to beware of accepting the offer. In private, she was not, as has been said, the superintendent, but the confidante, of the new pleasures of the King. It was, above all, important to her to prevent Louis from attaching himself to any lady of the court who might gain a lasting ascendency over him: it suited her interests for the King to carry on his plebeian amours among ignorant young girls, children, devoid of intrigue and art. The increasing depravity of Louis agreed but too well with the views of the favorite; ordinary debauchery no longer satisfied his palled senses, unless he blighted innocence: he had fallen so low, that he would have disgusted the Regent.

Louis had at first received his obscure mistresses sometimes in a little suite of rooms in the turrets of the château, near the chapel; sometimes in a small house in the Avenue de Saint-Cloud: the charming residence of Madame de Pompadour, called the Hermitage,[1] the gardens of which had been taken from the park of Versailles, also served him as an asylum in case of need. Finally, in 1755, Louis purchased secretly, through a third party, a house hidden between two blind alleys, in an obscure corner of the quarter of the Parc-aux-Cerfs at Versailles.[2] "This was the origin of an establishment so infamous," says a historian,[3] "that, after having depicted the excesses of the Regency, we know not even how to name this kind of debauchery. . . . Young girls were conducted thither, who had been sold by their parents, or *wrested from them*. . . . Corruption entered the most peaceful households, the most obscure families. It was planned skilfully and long in advance by those who pandered to the debauches of Louis: years were employed in seducing children who were not yet nubile, and in combating in young girls the principles of modesty and fidelity. . . . "One day, a charming little Irish girl of twelve, the daughter of a poor Jacobite refugee, served as a model for a head of the Virgin to a painter commissioned to decorate the apartments of the Queen. Shortly after, the Marquis de Lugeac, the nephew of Madame de Pompadour, and Lebel, the King's *valet-de-chambre*, informed the mother of the child that her daughter had pleased one of the ladies of the Queen, who had no children, and who wished to take her and provide for her future. The mother

[1] Now the *Hôtel des Réservoirs*.

[2] Now the Quartier Saint-Louis, Rue Saint-Médéric. — See *Histoire anecdotique des rues de Versailles*, by M. Le Roi, municipal librarian of Versailles, — a very curious publication.

[3] Lacretelle, *Histoire de France pendant le dix-huitième siècle*, t. III. p. 172.

and daughter were carried to the house of the lady; then were separated under some pretext. When the mother returned, she found neither the pretended lady of the Queen nor her daughter. She never saw her again. The child had been conducted to a pavilion of the Tuileries, which was, it is said, for many years the provisional dépot of the young victims abducted in Paris by the purveyor Lebel. The child was sent from the Tuileries to the turrets of Versailles. Another time, the King, having come to Paris with his retinue for a bed of justice, perceived on the terrace of the Tuileries a young girl of from twelve to thirteen, whose extreme beauty struck him. Lebel easily succeeded in finding her again. This time, things passed amicably. The father and mother (the father was a chevalier of St. Louis, by the name of De Romans) accepted the proposals of the King for their daughter's future! When the child was fifteen, she was taken to Versailles as if to visit the château: her parents delivered her to Lebel under some pretext, and the latter conducted the innocent creature to the *petits appartements*, where the King was awaiting her!

These facts multiplied: the King had by all these young girls a great number of children, that were almost always taken from their mothers immediately after their birth, in order to prevent them from being made means of influence, and to stifle scandal. Touching anecdotes are related of the efforts of these young mothers to find their children; among others, of the young Irish girl, who recovered her daughter by dint of address and perseverance, and was again barbarously separated from her. At the Parc-aux-Cerfs, where neither the Irish girl nor Mademoiselle de Romans had been, it was endeavored to conceal the name of the master of the house from the young *boarders:* one of them having discovered it, and made a scandal, she was sent to a madhouse.

A last trait must be added to depict Louis XV. His vices had a strange character: they were the vices, not of the eighteenth century, but of the Middle Ages. Superstition was united in him, as in Henri III., to the most abject libertinism. He had a slavish fear of piety. He mingled the exercises of religious worship with his infamous deeds; he dictated morning and evening prayers to the poor little creatures that he polluted, and prayed with them![1] . . .

[1] See *Journal de Barbier*, t. III. p. 453; Soulavie, *Anecdotes de la cour de France pendant la faveur de madame de Pompadour*, c. iii.–v.; *Mémoires de madame du Hausset*,

The great nobles imitated the King in his base seductions or his cowardly acts of violence, sure as they were of impunity, provided that they addressed themselves to families poor, and without supporters. These horrors could not remain wholly secret. The cry of the mothers mounted to heaven. The rumbling of smothered thunder was heard amidst the people. A few years had sufficed to work a prodigious change in the sentiments of Paris. A proof of this had been given as early as 1750, only six years after that day of delirious joy when Paris had decreed to Louis XV. the title of the *Well-beloved.* The ministry having ordered the police to gather up the abandoned children, the little vagrants, in order to send them as colonists to the Mississippi, the exempts took advantage of this order, given with cruel thoughtlessness, to abduct the children of the bourgeois and artisans in order to oblige the parents to redeem them. A first riot broke out, May 16, 1750: the whole quarter of Saint-Antoine fell upon the exempts and archers. Suddenly the rumor spread among the multitude that the King had become leprous in consequence of his debauchery, that baths of human blood were required to cure him, and that it was for this that the children were taken. On the 22d and 23d, the excitement broke out afresh with much greater violence: several archers were put to death by the people; many of the houses of the police officers were sacked; a commissioner of the police was obliged to give up a spy that had taken refuge in his house, and whose dead body the people flung before the door of the lieutenant-general of police, Berryer. The lieutenant of police fled. Madame de Pompadour, who had come by chance to Paris, had only time to flee at the full speed of her horses. The people talked of going *to burn Versailles.*[1]

waiting-maid of Madame de Pompadour, ap. *Bibliothèque des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France pendant le dix-huitième siècle,* t. III. pp. 78–82. Madame du Hausset, in seeking to extenuate the facts, says enough to confirm rather than contradict Soulavie. — *Mémoires de madame Campan,* t. III. pp. 29–45. We have set aside the anecdote of Mademoiselle Tiercelin, related by Soulavie, on the suspicion that it may be the same as that of Mademoiselle de Romans: Soulavie may have been inaccurate with respect to the details; and the father, who was of rank, Soulavie says, may have been called Tiercelin de Romans. The facts relative to Mademoiselle de Romans are taken from Madame Campan, whose testimony assuredly will not be suspected. This young girl afterwards became ambitious: she gained some influence over Louis XV. Become the mother of a son, she obtained permission for him to be baptized by the name of Bourbon, which was done for no other natural child of the King; and dreamed of causing him to be *legitimatized* like the children of Louis XIV., and of supplanting Madame de Pompadour. The King brutally wrested her child from her, and disgraced her. The child, who was called the Abbé de Bourbon, died in the following reign. Louis XVI. would have made him a cardinal.

[1] *Mémoires et Journal du marquis d'Argenson,* t. III. pp. 334–338.

The outbreak, however, having no determined object, subsided of itself after a few exempts and archers had been imprisoned to satisfy the populace. Two months after, the government avenged itself for the fear that it had undergone, by hanging, with great military parade, three of the authors of the *sedition*. The watch, which had acted with very little spirit, was reorganized, and was made a wholly military body; barracks were built around Paris for the French and Swiss guards. The King thenceforth avoided passing through Paris on his way to Compiègne or Fontainebleau; and the road which he took through Saint-Denis to Compiègne was called the *Street of the Riot*.[1]

"The King is despised," said Chesterfield in a letter written at the close of 1753; "and he has brought it about to be hated at the same time, which seldom happens to the same man." The secession of the great city from Louis the *Well-beloved* was irrevocable.

The popular hostility was still too vague to be productive of immediate results: but meanwhile, as soon as the return of peace had permitted French society to fall back upon itself, the dissensions and collisions, constantly ruder and more frequent, had been renewed among the great bodies that filled the highest social positions; the wheels of the political machine worked with more and more difficulty, and seemed continually nearer the point of breaking. Every thing was worn out and disjointed. These dissensions divided the very council of the King, where the only two ministers of any importance were in opposition. The reign of Madame de Pompadour was not absolute. The minister of finance, Machault, belonged to her; but the minister of war, D'Argenson, refused to bow to the favorite, and the King nevertheless retained him, partly through habit, partly through liking for his agreeable and vivacious mind. Madame de Pompadour was on bad terms with the clergy, for the reason that the prelate who held the list of the benefices (a kind of ministry of ecclesiastical affairs), the Bishop Boyer, was a narrow but sincere devotee; that the new Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont (appointed in 1746), was as austere as Vintimille had been complaisant; and that, since the promotion of the Archbishop, the Jesuits, clustering round De Boyer, De Beaumont, the Queen, and the young Dauphin, showed a rigidity towards the reigning power that was not in accordance with their traditions. They sacrificed the present to the future; refused the communion to the King and his mistress,

[1] See *Journal de Barbier*, t. III. pp. 124–156; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. II. p. 350.

expecting that age and fear would bring Louis back to them; and trained an heir to the throne according to their heart, — a policy more honorable, after all, than that with which they had so often been reproached. Madame de Pompadour, through rancor, therefore, supported Machault, who entertained great designs against the privileges of the clergy, and who was conciliatory towards the parliaments. D'Argenson, on his side, favored the clergy, and urged the King against the parliaments through family tradition and through rivalry of Machault.

M. de Machault, who lacked comprehension of the general interests of France, as was to be but too soon perceived, had extended views in financial affairs. The State was bending beneath the weight of the enormously increased debt, and Machault was fully conscious that it was too late to extricate it by economy, — by a negative administration after the manner of Fleuri. Moreover, neither Madame de Pompadour, nor the great military establishment kept up in France, as everywhere, after the peace of 1748, nor, lastly, the necessity of again creating a fleet, permitted economy. Machault had supported the last campaigns by increasing the villain-tax and various duties; establishing new taxes; raising the *octrois*,[1] the capitation-tax, and the tithe on incomes, four sous a livre; creating life-*rentes*, etc. As soon as peace was made, he caused a series of measures to be decreed, advantageous to agriculture and commerce. The export and import duties on manures, and the import duties on raw materials, were abolished. The duty of fifty sous a ton on foreign ships was doubled. All the inferior jurisdictions, provostships, castellanies, *vigueries* (provostships of Languedoc and Provence), etc., were abolished in the towns in which there were bailiwicks or seneschalships (April, 1749).

These were only the preliminaries to a broad plan of financial reform. Machault projected the gradual redemption of the debt, and the reformation of direct taxation as the means of attaining this end by a system of gradual extinction.

An ordinance of May, 1749, converted the tithe on incomes, established in 1741, and which was to have been abolished on the recurrence of peace, into a tax of one-twentieth of all revenues, without the power of commutation or redemption; which twentieth was to form a general sinking-fund, designed to redeem the

[1] Taxes on consumption established in the towns and burghs, originally for the use of the municipal administration, but in which the public treasury afterwards participated. — See *Dict. de l'Économie Politique*. — Tr.

public debt. One million eight hundred thousand livres of *rentes* at five per cent, emitted at the same time, in order to procure immediate resources, and redeemable in twelve years, were the only revenue exempted from the twentieth. The war-tithe had not been very productive; the privileged persons of all classes had redeemed themselves from it; and the clergy had maintained its right of exemption at the price of *gratuities*. Machault was resolved no longer to listen to these compromises, but to renew the undertaking in which Pâris Duvernei had formerly failed; that is, to establish, for the first time, a truly universal direct tax. The estimates rigorously made by the intendants valued this twentieth at twenty-one millions, almost as much as the former tithe;[1] and this did not even include the clergy, as Machault intended.

The new tax excited lively murmurs everywhere: even those who had the most interest in a reformation founded on an equitable basis saw in it only a new burden in addition to the others. The parliament remonstrated, then registered it, by the command of the King. At the bottom, the anti-clerical policy of the comptroller-general could not have been displeasing to the magistrates: the resistance was more obstinate in a few of the *pays d'État* which had preserved, of their ancient liberties, only the vain formality of a periodical gratuity, and the more important right of themselves apportioning and collecting the tax. The twentieth, a quota-tax, was to be apportioned by the royal officers. The States of Brittany and Languedoc openly refused to pay the twentieth. The King dissolved the States of Languedoc. They did not sustain their opposition to the end: their wholly oligarchical composition rendered them a prey to the seductions of the court. The order of the clergy was formed only of the bishops; the order of the nobility, of a score of barons, the proprietors of certain privileged fiefs. They were gained over one by one, and finally submitted to the twentieth in order to recover the right to reassemble: the court, indeed, compounded with them by permitting them to apportion and collect the twentieth through the hands of their provincial officers (1757). Brittany, where each of the three orders was, so to speak, a relative democracy, where the lower clergy were represented, and where all the nobility had the right to sit in the chamber of nobles, was more obstinate than Languedoc. The principal members of the States were exiled in vain; no affidavits of the revenues were obtained; the twentieth

[1] It would be interesting to investigate the precise bases of these estimates: the net revenue was evidently in question; but how was it appreciated?

could not be collected; and the government, surrounded with embarrassments of all kinds, dared not carry matters to extremities. In Artois, the intendants were ordered to receive the affidavits of the revenues without further scrutiny. As early as 1751, all these difficulties and miscalculations compelled Machault to make new emissions of *rentes* to the capital value of about fifty millions.[1]

The parliaments had been tractable enough; the nobility had resisted only in the States of two or three provinces; the clergy resisted in a body with inflexible vehemence. They felt themselves the ones most threatened by the projected reform. They saw clearly that this reform was only a first step, and that Machault aimed at encroaching upon monastic property. An edict of August, 1749, the preamble of which drew a forcible picture of the means employed by mortmain corporations to monopolize private estates, had renewed and defined with precision all the ancient legal provisions designed to check the exorbitant growth of mortmain property; prohibited the foundation, by will, of any new religious community; enjoined on mortmain corporations to alienate within a year and a day, to persons not subject to mortmain, the property falling to the seigniories annexed to their benefices; declared void all the religious establishments founded since 1636 without the authorization of the King, reserving the right of ultimately granting them letters-patent should it be expedient, or of employing their property in the service of charity or of public utility; forbade all persons to lend their names to mortmain corporations to acquire property, etc., under penalty of a fine of three thousand livres, or greater penalties according to the exigencies of the case. Another edict, of August 17, 1750, enjoined on all holders of benefices to give, within six months, an affidavit of the revenues of their benefices, in order to insure the most equitable apportionment of "the subsidies, which are made a duty to the clergy by their fidelity." There was a unanimous outcry among the bishops, assailed at once in the general interests of the ecclesiastical order, and in their private interests; for the majority among them threw upon the lower clergy almost all the weight of the gratuities which they granted to the King. The fiery Archbishop of Paris addressed warm remonstrances to the King in his own name, and in that of a great number of his *brethren*. Louis XV. and his minister were assailed by letters, in which the prelates, in more or less respectful terms,

[1] See *Anciennes Lois françaises*, t. XXII. pp. 224, 225, 248; Soulavie, *Mémoires de Richelieu*, t. VIII. pp. 192, 202; *Journal de Barbier*, t. III., May, 1751.

let it be known that they should obey *God rather than the King*. The comptroller-general, on his side, clandestinely circulated vehement books and pamphlets against the ecclesiastical privileges and the morals of the higher clergy. The clergy complained, and the council granted them the suppression of one of these books; but Machault found means to insinuate a sarcasm into the very terms of the decree. It was placarded at the corners of the streets that the King had prescribed the suppression of this work, as wishing to make the clergy pass "for the body, of all others, the least useful to society." The assembly of the clergy responded to the communication addressed to them of the edict of August 17 by a decided refusal. "We will never consent for what has hitherto been the gift of our love and respect to become the tribute of our obedience." The assembly was dissolved by the King's command (September 15), and a decree of the council enjoined on the intendants a first levy of seven millions and a half, *not consented to*, on the property of the Church, for the extinction of the debts of the clergy.[1]

This was a good beginning; but it was necessary for the government to persevere without permitting itself to be diverted by any event. The clergy knew the King too well to believe in this perseverance, and found means to raise up diversions by reviving the religious quarrels and the disputes concerning the jurisdiction of the temporal and spiritual powers.

The reaction of this policy fell on the unhappy Protestants. While the Archbishop of Paris and other prelates were preparing a machine of war against Jansenism, a sure means of entering into conflict with the parliament, the bishops of the South raised an outcry against tolerance, and reproached the government with abandoning the great work of the *Révocation;* a not less certain means of acting on the stereotyped mind of the King. God knows that the reproach was unfounded! Since the death of Fleuri, the persecution, on the contrary, had been relentlessly

[1] *Anciennes Lois françaises*, t. XXII. pp. 226, 236; *Journal de Barbier*, t. III. pp. 144, 170, 172; Soulavie, *Mémoires de Richelieu*, t. VIII. c. ix.; *Journal du règne de Louis XV.* t. II. pp. 65, 66. Among the anonymous pamphlets hurled against the clergy was one that had no need of signature: it bore the mark of the lion's paw, the *Voix du Sage et du Peuple*. Voltaire maintains in this, with his usual spirit, that there are not *two powers*, but only one, — that of the State; that the Prince should be the absolute master of all ecclesiastical polity in every thing that has the least relation to the public order. He advises the King to "restore to the laws of Nature the imprudent men and women who have made a vow fatal to society at an age when it is not allowable to dispose of one's property," and extols the services that philosophy renders to princes by destroying superstition, "which is always the enemy of princes."

recommenced in consequence of a synod, which some pastors and elders, the deputies from a great number of provinces,[1] had held secretly *in the wilderness*, in Lower Languedoc, August 18, 1744. This assembly, the first that had met since the Revocation, had expressed no other sentiments than those of peace and extreme moderation. It had prescribed a solemn fast in all the Protestant churches for the preservation of the King's person, the success of his arms, and the deliverance of the Church; and had enjoined on the pastors to preach submission to the legitimate powers, to abstain from all direct controversy, and to use great circumspection in calling to mind the sufferings of the churches. The government had responded to the gentleness of the oppressed only by new acts of violence: two ordinances of February 1 and February 16, 1745, had prescribed that whoever had been present at the meetings of the Protestants should be sent to the galleys, without form of trial; the women were to be imprisoned for life; arbitrary fines were to be inflicted on all the *new converts* in the places where the meetings had been held, who, without being present, had not denounced them; and a fine of three thousand livres was to be imposed on every *new convert*, in a place where a minister had been arrested, who had not given information against him.

These monstrous measures could not be generally applied; but they delivered up the entire body of the Protestants to the absolute arbitrariness of the intendants, who spared or punished to suit their interests, their passions, and their caprices. The abduction of children still continued. A wealthy manufacturer of Nîmes, Sabonadière, is cited, who expended more than two hundred thousand livres in securing protectors to preserve for him his six children. Another merchant, Favène, having quarrelled with the intendant of Upper Guienne, the latter revenged himself by wresting from him his favorite daughter. The position of the Protestants towards the provincial despots was that of the Christian *rajahs* towards the Turkish pachas in the worst days of the Ottoman Empire. The women arrested in the wilderness had their heads shaved, and were publicly whipped; then were sent for life to the tower of Constance at Aigues-Mortes, so renowned in the martyrology of the Reformation. Young girls were shut up

[1] There had been delegates from Upper and Lower Poitou, Aunis, Angoumois, Saintonge, Périgord, Upper and Lower Languedoc, Lower Guienne, Cévennes, Vivarais, Velay, Dauphiny, and Normandy. — Coquerel, *Histoire des Églises du Désert*, t. I pp. 279–301.

there at six years of age, who became decrepit at twenty, through excessive destitution and the exhalations of the salt marshes. The noise of these atrocities reached and agitated foreign countries. Frederick II. demanded liberty for these unfortunates. He obtained nothing (1745–1749).

Such was the state of affairs, when the most turbulent of the southern bishops reproached the ministers, in letters that were made public, with *protecting* the Protestants. Good citizens, friends of humanity, vainly strove to warn the government against these cruel instigations.[1] The minister who had the jurisdiction of the affairs of the Protestants, Phelippeaux de Saint-Florentin, Duke de la Vrillière, was devoted to the clergy: the minister of war (and this is a great stigma on the Count d'Argenson) lent him his coöperation. Troops had been put into the field as early as November, 1750, to prevent or surprise the meetings in the wilderness. In spite of the ordinances, numerous Protestant baptisms and marriages were celebrated in the meetings. In the month of April, 1751, a circular enjoined on the Protestants to present their children baptized in the wilderness, within fifteen days, at the Catholic churches, in order that the baptism might be confirmed by orthodox rites. The majority did not obey; and, during the whole year 1751, meetings were continually tracked, surprised, and fired upon by the soldiers, who often accosted these unarmed bands with discharges of musketry. A preacher, aged twenty-six, Bénezet, was taken, and hung at Montpelier, March 27, 1752. The farm laborers of Cévennes and Vivarais, the year before, had fled to the forests, abandoning their harvests. It was attempted to pursue them in their rugged retreats, after *dragooning* the peasants in the suburbs of Nîmes to force them to present their children to the curés. The mountaineers lost patience. The dragoons, guided by the curés and Jesuits, fell into an ambuscade near Levignan, in the Gardonenque: two curés were mortally wounded; and a Jesuit, it is said, was killed. This event made a lively impression on the King, who

[1] See *Le Patriote français et impartial*, by Court de Gébelin, 1751. The book of the Abbé de Caveirac (*Apologie de la Révocation de l'édit de Nantes*, with a *Dissertation sur la journée de la Saint-Barthélemi*) was written in reply to the *Patriote français* (1757). Caveirac seems to have been the father of that generation of sophists who ape cold fanaticism, and who seek, in the rehabilitation of the crimes of the past, their scandalous renown. A little book of much more importance than the *Patriote*, — the *Conciliateur*, — addressed in 1754 to the ministers and the counsellors of State by a young master of requests, announced a great statesman and a good man. The author's name was TURGOT.

feared the renewal of the War of the Camisards. Louis ordered the dragoonades to cease, and prescribed that the new converts, who wished to consecrate their marriages celebrated in the wilderness, according to the Catholic forms, should no longer be obliged to acknowledge their children bastards. The meetings were held almost without obstacle in 1753. The clergy did not permit this kind of truce to last: the King yielded anew, at least so far as the meetings were concerned; and, as early as the beginning of 1754, the Marshal de Richelieu, the Governor of Languedoc, issued the most violent instructions for the persecution of the conventicles. This sceptical and depraved courtier unscrupulously seconded the frenzy of fanaticism: the massacres commenced anew in the wilderness. The pastor Lafage, educated, like most of his brethren, in the seminary at Lausanne, was delivered up by an informer, condemned, and executed in twenty-four hours, August 17, 1754, by the simple decree of the intendant of Lower Languedoc. Public opinion was still more warmly moved by an incident that has remained celebrated. A son, who had escaped from a meeting surprised by the soldiers, on seeing from a distance his father fall into their hands, returned, and entreated the commander to send him to the convict prison[1] instead of the old man (January, 1756). The exchange was accepted. The Duke de Mirepoix, the lieutenant-general of the province, offered the son, Jean Favre, his liberty, on condition that the renowned minister, Rabaud, whom he had not succeeded in seizing, would quit the kingdom. Jean Favre refused to propose this condition to his brethren, and remained six years in the convict prison.[2]

The instigators of the persecution imagined that they were still supported by society, as in the times when fanatical passions held sway: they did not perceive that a void was formed around them, and that the frivolity and corruption of the age alone blunted the public indignation and disgust. As soon as a more virile generation appeared, the explosion could not fail to take place.

Dissensions which irritated the people and disturbed the pleasures of the court corresponded at Paris to the odious acts which stained Languedoc with blood. The two leaders of the Molinist party, Boyer and Christophe de Beaumont, stirred up this agita

[1] The galleys no longer existed: they had been abolished in 1748.

[2] Normandy had also had its persecution. A great number of children were abducted there; and a multitude of Protestants were imprisoned, and subjected to fines. Six hundred emigrated. — See Lémontei, t. I. p. 160; Coquerel, t. II. c. i.-vi.

tion by a calculation that was not purely Machiavellian. Fiery and unenlightened, but sincere devotees, they thought that they saw in the attack on ecclesiastical immunities the first step towards a general aggression of the Jansenists and philosophers, whom they confounded in their hatred; and resolved to defend orthodoxy by resuming the offensive through a species of inquisition. The Archbishop Beaumont commanded his curés to refuse the last sacraments to any sick person who did not present a certificate of confession, and who did not subscribe to the Bull *Unigenitus*. This was only the starting-point: the system of certificates of confession could be applied in many other cases than the last sacraments. At the first refusal of the sacraments, the parliament began to make investigations, which were repeatedly arrested by orders from the King (1749–1750). The contest, for some time retarded, was entered into thoroughly in 1752. The curé of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont refused the sacraments to the Duke of Orleans, the Regent's son, a zealous Jansenist, who had long since retired to the Abbey of Saint-Genevieve: the Prince caused them to be administered by his almoner, forbade the prosecution of the curé, and died February 4, 1752. Shortly after, an ecclesiastic, who had been attached to the household of the late Duke, fell ill: a new refusal ensued from the curé of Saint Étienne. The parliament issued a writ to apprehend the body of the curé (March 29, 1752). The council annulled the writ of the parliament. The parliament replied by a new decree, forbidding any ecclesiastic to make a public refusal of the sacraments under the pretext of the default of the presentation of a certificate of confession, or of the acceptance of the Bull, as if it were *a rule of faith* (April 18, 1752).

To appreciate the character of the intervention of the parliament in this matter, it must not be forgotten that the refusal of the sacraments involved the refusal of sepulture, and, consequently, a mark of infamy to the defunct and his family. Civil sepulture was no more possible than civil marriage, or civil certificate of birth. The magistracy had, therefore, good grounds for interfering in the name of public order and social law. The ministers of religious worship can only claim independence in their acts, where these acts, being of no value except in public opinion, do not carry with them civil effects, and where, religious worship being considered as a thing purely private, the clergy is neither supported nor authorized in any thing by the State.

The decree of the parliament was answered by a second decree

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of the council, in which the King set himself up as a mediator; renewed the declarations in favor of the Bull, without, however, entitling it a *rule of faith;* prescribed that secular judges should not impose laws on the ministers of the Church in matters purely spiritual; and announced the formation of a commission, chosen from among the episcopate and the magistracy, to remedy the new disturbances that had just arisen (April 29).

The commission remedied nothing, and was listened to by no one. Refusals of the sacraments, multiplying from one end of France to the other; declamations resounding from every pulpit; the tribunals prosecuting the preachers and the curés; the bishops fulminating against the parliaments; the parliaments burning the letters of the bishops; the council of the King annulling the decrees of the parliament of Paris; the contradictory decrees of the parliament and the council simultaneously cried and placarded in Paris; the Jesuits burlesquing their adversaries in their college comedies; the Jansenists parrying the thrusts by caricatures and pamphlets; the philosophers deriding and lampooning both parties, — such was the strange spectacle presented by France. It was no longer, as in the times of the Cardinal de Noailles, a civil war among the clergy. The system followed for so many years by Fleuri, then by Boyer, of conferring benefices on the Molinists alone, had borne its fruits: the clergy of Paris and the Sorbonne were now as much attached to the Bull as they had formerly been opposed to it, and the Jansenists were no longer any thing but an almost imperceptible minority in the French clergy: the contest was truly between the ecclesiastical and the judicial orders.

The year 1752 passed away in this agitation. In December, the storm redoubled in violence, on the occurrence of a new refusal of the sacraments by the curé of Saint-Médard to a Jansenist nun of Saint-Agatha. The archbishop declared that the curé had acted only by his orders. The parliament prescribed the seizure of the revenues of the bishop, and convoked the peers for the purpose of passing judgment on the prelate. Two cardinals and twenty-seven bishops hastened to Versailles to enter a complaint to the King of this outrage. The King prescribed the withdrawal of the seizure, and forbade the convocation of the peers. The nun who had caused the discussion was carried off by virtue of a *lettre de cachet.* The parliament disputed the ground, step by step, with as much obstinacy as hardihood. An incident will give an idea of this. It authoritatively ordered the Sorbonne to register

one of its decrees, in spite of the express prohibition of the King to the Sorbonne to deliberate on the subject. After several months of altercation, the King refused to receive the remonstrances of the parliament, — remonstrances which touched on many other things than the refusals of the sacraments, and which attacked the *lettres de cachet* and the leading abuses of arbitrary power (May 4, 1753).[1] The parliament suspended the course of justice. The Count d'Argenson and Boyer urged the King to an authoritative stroke. Madame de Pompadour, irritated at some speeches made against her among the parliamentarians, seconded her habitual adversaries. The president and the counsellors of inquiries and requests were exiled and dispersed through different towns within the jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris, and four of the most vehement were sent as prisoners to the fortresses (May 9). The great chamber, which it had been sought to conciliate, protested, and confirmed all the past decrees. It was transferred to Pontoise (May 11). The magistrates did not give way. The parliaments of Toulouse, Aix, Rouen, and Rennes, and the Châtelet of Paris, were engaged in the same struggles as the parliament of Paris, and encouraged its resistance. The court endeavored to dispense with the parliament by instituting, to judge in its place, a court commissioned to sit during the recess, composed of counsellors of state, and masters of requests (September 18, 1753). This provisional court was reviled by every one. It dared not install itself at the Palais. Neither advocate nor attorney would appear before it. It sufficed for the court and the Jesuits to be on one side, for the public to be on the other.

At Martinmas, the epoch of the annual beginning of the terms, the great chamber was exiled from Pontoise to Soissons; and the provisional court in session during the recess received the title of the *royal chamber*, as if it had been a definitive tribunal. It was established at the Louvre. Nothing was gained thereby. The passive resistance continued. This was serious. The magistracy had not had this firmness under the Regency. Men were beginning to recover their vigor. On the other side, the Molinist clergy, intoxicated with their apparent victory, carried disturbance into all families by their certificates of confession. Madame de Pompadour began again to fear the ascendency of the devotee party at

[1] A Knight of Malta, M. de Rességuier, was, at this very moment, imprisoned in an *iron cage* on Mount Saint-Michel for some satirical verses. Every one knows the story of Latude, buried for so many years in the dungeons of the Bastille for a threatening letter to Madame de Pompadour.

court, and to arouse the King's distrust of the coteries of the Dauphin. The King welcomed the idea of a general compromise. On the one hand, Machault was authorized to negotiate with the parliament; on the other, the Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld undertook to induce the clergy to renounce the certificates of confession, provided that the *twentieth* were no longer exacted of them. The cardinal acknowledged thereby that the certificates of confession had been nothing but a political manœuvre, at least to the main body of the party. The manœuvre had been successful, since the court abandoned the financial plans of the comptroller-general. Machault was not disgraced; but he was transferred to the marine, and the comptroller-generalship was given to M. de Séchelles, an ex-intendant of the army (the end of July, 1754). The clergy made a *gratuitous offering* to the King: the *pays d'États*, the free towns, the great nobles, — all who had wealth or credit, — redeemed themselves from the twentieth by commutation. The project of equalizing the direct tax, and that of sinking the debt, vanished together. The redemption that had been begun soon ceased. The twentieth served momentarily to fill up the deficit in the current expenses, and nothing remained of the admirable plans of Machault but an additional tax.[1]

The royal chamber having been abolished August 30, the parliament was reinstalled September 4, amid the applause of Paris and of France. On the 5th it registered a royal declaration, which renewed the injunction of silence concerning religious disputes, and commissioned the parliament to attend to its execution. The birth of a second son of the Dauphin, the Duke of Berry (August 23, 1754), had been the occasion and pretext for this hollow peace, which, in fact, was not even a truce. This child, who was destined to pass his sad life amid storms, and to be swallowed up in the gulf dug by his grandfather, was the unfortunate Louis XVI.

A confused mixture of arbitrariness and anarchy, and a profound disrespect for the King's person, the government, and the clergy, — such were the characteristic features of the picture presented by the interior of the kingdom. How could it be hoped that France would sustain herself abroad in such conditions, and

[1] Soulavie, t. VIII. c. ix., xi.; Bailli, *Hist. financière de la France*, t. II. p. 135. A new loan of forty-five millions had been made in October, 1752. — See *Journal de Barbier*, t. III. p. 412. A petty State had just followed the example already abandoned. Sardinia had subjected the property of the clergy to taxation in 1752.

that such a government would second the aspirations of the national genius in external relations?

Efforts, however, were made to this end, not only by the men who were pursuing glorious designs on the other side of the world, but in the cabinet itself of the King so justly decried. Insignificant men had succeeded each other in the ministry of foreign affairs, — Puisieux, who resigned in 1751; Saint-Contest, who died in 1754; Rouillé, transferred from the marine to the foreign affairs[1] at the death of Saint-Contest: but a high personage, a prince of the blood, had succeeded in winning the King, and in gaining a great influence over the direction of diplomacy outside of the council.

It has been seen, that, as early as the ministry of the Marquis d'Argenson, Louis XV. had begun to carry on a diplomatic correspondence unknown to his ministers. In 1745, a deputation of Poles had come to Paris to offer to the Prince de Conti the eventual nomination to the throne of Poland. The King had permitted Conti to listen to this offer, and to put himself in a position to profit by it. This son of the contemptible Conti of the Regency had had a more than tempestuous youth, and traits of brutal and cruel debauchery had seemed to announce another Count de Charolais; but age had wrought an unhoped-for change in him: an enlightened and honorable ambition had tempered this frenzied restlessness, and he had devised a system of foreign policy, which was a return to the sound national traditions, and which would have revived the French preponderance on the continent. To preserve the spirit of the treaty of Westphalia in Germany; to unite, by a perpetual treaty, Turkey, Poland, Sweden, and Prussia, under the mediation, then with the addition, of France; to separate thus by a chain of hostile States those dangerous allies, Austria and Russia; and to set up a barrier, from the Pole to the Archipelago, between Europe and Russia, which would be forced back into its deserts, — such was not certainly the conception of a common mind. Poland was the pivot of this system, which was opposed to that of the Marquis d'Argenson only on a single point: namely, Conti wished to attribute to himself the part that D'Argenson destined for the House of Saxony.[2] The end was the same; the

[1] Maurepas, the Minister of the Marine almost from childhood, had been removed in 1749 through the influence of Madame de Pompadour, irritated at his epigrams. Rouillé, a cipher in foreign affairs, had rendered services to the marine. Great improvement was made in ship-building under Maurepas' ministry and his own.

[2] D'Argenson, in his Memoirs, seems to us unjust to the Prince de Conti.

Gal.ie Hist.que de Versailles

1609

Col.on du Ch.au d'Eu

Cont.y (Louis-françois de Bourbon, Prince de)

+ 1576

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means were different. The incapacity and unworthiness of the Saxon princes were a very grave objection to D'Argenson's project. The great difficulty in Conti's whole plan was to secure Prussia. Frederick II. had secret views concerning Poland which did not accord with the design of reviving this State, although otherwise he was fully disposed to thwart Russia and Austria.

Conti could not hope to be summoned to the council: he knew that Louis XV., since he had attained the age of manhood, had returned to the tradition of his great grandfather with respect to the princes of the blood, and would confide to none of them an official participation in the government. He had therefore evaded the question by praising to the King "the advantage that His Majesty would derive from being instructed in several different ways," and by inducing him to open, from 1748, an extensive correspondence unknown to the ministers and to Madame de Pompadour,— a correspondence carried on partly by secret agents, partly by the ambassadors and the very subordinates of the secretary of foreign affairs. From this, the King fell into the habit of analyzing and discussing this correspondence secretly, and at stated times, with Conti, who, without title or official character, thus duplicated, in some sort, the minister of foreign affairs with respect to the affairs of the Continent, placed his emissaries in the embassies of Constantinople, Stockholm, Warsaw, and Berlin, and held in his hand all the relations of the North and the East. The King appeared wholly converted to his system. Louis XV. was very well acquainted with diplomatic interests, and saw correctly enough when it was only in question to calculate remote chances, and to treat diplomacy as a game of chess which diverted his idleness: his vision was troubled only when spirit and action were demanded of him.[1]

These were needed with respect to England: in this direction, therefore, the policy of the government was wretched. Nevertheless, an effort seems at first to have been made to elevate France. The minister of the marine, Rouillé, proposed to the council a gigantic plan, conceived by his predecessor, Maurepas, for the restoration of the fleet: he entertained the design of building, in ten years, one hundred and eleven ships of the line and fifty-four frigates. Unfortunately, the activity was not in proportion to

[1] Flassan, *Histoire de la Diplomatie française*, t. V. p. 292; *Notes et Mémoires du comte de Broglie*, ap. Ségur, *Politique de tous les cabinets de l'Europe*, t. I. pp. 55, 167. This work contains very important documents concerning the secret diplomacy of Louis XV.

such great projects; and neither diplomatic intelligence nor diplomatic energy corresponded to this resolution to restore our material means of action. The maintenance, at any price, of the peace that had been so dearly purchased, comprised the whole policy of Louis XV. England, on the contrary, saw in peace only a halt whereby to regain her strength and to prepare for new enterprises: she had regular means of compelling her government to serve her wishes and to pursue her destinies, which were lacking to France. While, among us, the financial plans of Machault were defeated by the resistance of the privileged classes, in England the minister Pelham obtained the passage of a bill which reduced the interest on the debt from four and a half to three and a half per cent, then to three per cent (1750), not by means of compulsion, that is, by partial bankruptcy, but by offering the creditors the choice between redemption and the reduction, which almost all accepted. Of the two governments, the one improved its situation; the other made it worse from day to day.

France and England, meanwhile, were at war in point of fact, despite the official peace, on the opposite sides of the world, — in North America and in Hindostan. No treaty could have established lasting harmony between the colonies of the two nations, impelled against each other, not only by the rivalry of their mother-countries, but by their own passions and interests. Nothing had been done to weaken this species of fatality. The cabinet of Versailles, by its very precipitancy in concluding peace, had neglected to render this peace enduring. The respective limits in North America had never been clearly defined. This question, which was assuming a constantly increasing importance, was left to be decided by commissioners. It was almost impossible that war would not arise from it. As to India, it was not on a fixed question, like that of frontiers, but on all points at once, that conflict was inevitable. Events were transpiring there of the most powerful interest, the most romantic character, — events, the like of which had not been seen since the Spanish *conquistadores* of the sixteenth century. The children of France were showing themselves very great at the extremities of the earth, while their government was so insignificant! In Canada, if the genius was not so resplendent as in India, the heroism was at least equal.

The development of Dupleix's projects had not been interrupted by the peace, which had been so painful to this great man.[1] The

[1] The comptroller-general Machault, who had the Indian Company in his department, had written to Dupleix, as early as May 12, 1748, that Madras must be restored

Governor of French India neither would nor could be checked. Unable longer to attack the English openly, he resolved to oppose them indirectly by securing the preponderance of our allies over theirs, and by destroying the balance of power between them and ourselves through the increase of our influence and territory. We have already described the system by which he designed to attain dominion over India. To interfere in the quarrels of the Mogul and Hindoo princes, and to make a place for himself in their hierarchy, were the principal means.[1] An audacious policy was here the policy of good sense. An exclusively commercial policy was an illusion. Private individuals, carrying on the inter-Indian trade under the protection of the company, could make a fortune: the company could not do so. "Dupleix was convinced, after an attentive examination, that commerce, reduced to itself alone, could not be made in any degree profitable, by reason of the obstacles placed in its way by the Indians; the duties which were imposed on the merchandise, and which swallowed up all the profits; the endless extortions of the rajahs, nabobs, and zemindars; and, above all, the necessity of supporting troops for the defence of the factories. There was no middle course, therefore, between conquest and abandonment."[2]

After the peace of 1748, Dupleix kept, therefore, all his French and native troops on foot, promising the company that these troops should not long be a burden to it. The English, on their side, did not disband, and were even the first to set the example of territorial invasion. In 1749, they put an auxiliary corps at the service of a pretender to the petty Indian kingdom of Tanjore, a southern adjunct of the Carnatic, and attacked the reigning rajah. The rajah ceded to them the maritime town of Devicotta: at this price they abandoned the pretender whom they had put forward, and even undertook to keep him in prison in behalf of his rival.

Dupleix soon had a signal revenge. He meditated vaster designs; but he had been forced to hold them in reserve during the life of the aged subahdar (viceroy) of the Deccan, — the Nizam El Molouk, an astute and sombre politician, who had lately drawn Nadir Shah upon the north of Hindostan to secure for himself the dominion of the south; and who, to the age of more than a hun-

as soon as peace was concluded, without even waiting for the English to restore what they had conquered from us. — Saint-Priest, *Études historiques sur le dix-huitième siècle; La Perte de l'Inde sous Louis XV.*

[1] See *ante*, p. 280.

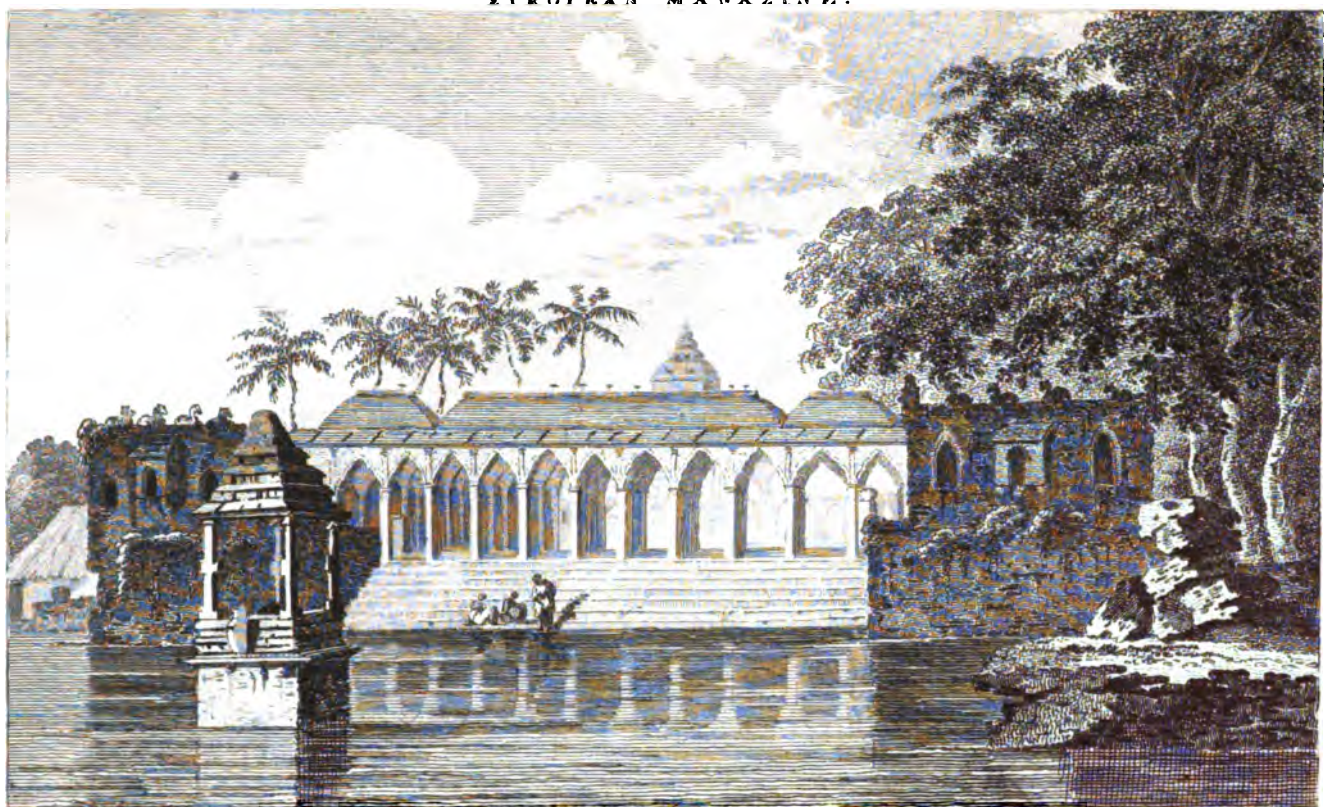
[2] Saint-Priest, *La Perte de l'Inde sous Louis XV.*

dred, had succeeded in holding in terror all the nabobs and rajahs of the Peninsula, his vassals. The death of the nizam opened the way. His son, Nazir Jung, caused himself to be proclaimed subahdar, and was recognized by the English. His grandson, the nephew of the nazir, Murzapha Jung, claimed the inheritance, by virtue of a will of the defunct nizam, and solicited the support of the French. As to the Great Mogul, or padishah, the nominal sovereign, he sold a duplicate firman of investiture to each competitor: this was all the share that he took in the contest. The events that transpired in the Deccan were repeated in the Carnatic, the nabobship where the principal French and English settlements were found. The reigning nabob, Anvar Addien Khan, or Aliverdi Khan, had been the enemy of the French since they had refused to deliver to him Madras; and Dupleix had raised up a rival to him by the name of Chunda Sahib, a scion of the family from which Aliverdi Khan had wrested the nabobship. Dupleix united together the two pretenders, Murzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib, sent them a reënforcement of French and sepoys, and precipitated them first on the nabob of the Carnatic. They attacked with forty thousand men Aliverdi Khan, who had only twenty thousand: of the forty thousand assailants, four hundred were French, and nearly two thousand regular native troops. The success could not be doubtful. Aliverdi Khan, a centenarian like the late nizam, commanded in person, mounted on a magnificent elephant: such things are seen nowhere but in India![1] A French bullet hurled him dead from his lofty seat. His army dispersed (August 3, 1749).

The victors went to Pondicherry itself to thank Dupleix. They were not ungrateful. Chunda Sahib ceded to the French the town of Vilnoor, near Pondicherry; Murzapha Jung promised them the much more important town of Masulipatam, on the coast of Orissa, at the north of the Carnatic, where the finest muslins and the most beautiful calicoes of India were made.

The English, preoccupied with their Tanjore expedition, had not assisted Aliverdi Khan: their company had, as yet, no general views beyond commerce and maritime positions. They remained for some time stunned, as it were, by the revolution in the Carnatic, and despatched only an insignificant assistance to Mahomet Ali, the son of Aliverdi Khan, who had retired to Trichi-

[1] "In these strange countries, every thing is marvellous, even the duration of life strength and weakness are equally unbounded. Man either wears out or becomes hardened in a heat as excessive as his passions." — Saint-Priest, *ibid.*



Drawn on the Spot by Capt. Tripand. Engraved by Morris.

N. View of Miaveram Choultry, in the Tanjore Country.

Published by J. Sewell, Cornhill, August 1, 1789.

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nopoly, the chief town of a little province dependent on the Carnatic, at the west of Tanjore. Dupleix urged his allies to capture this last position from the enemy. Unhappily, the two Mogul princes made a diversion against the Rajah of Tanjore, whom they forced to return under the suzerainty of the Carnatic, to pay a heavy tribute to Chunda Sahib, and to cede some territory around Karikal to the French (December, 1749). But meanwhile the English, recovered from their stupor, had entered into correspondence with the Subahdar of the Deccan, the rival and uncle of Murzapha Jung. The Subahdar Nazir Jung had resolved to overpower his competitor before the latter was in a position to return to attack him in the centre of his power. He precipitated all the forces of the Deccan upon the Carnatic: an avalanche of men, horses, and elephants, covered the coast of Coromandel. Nazir had, it is said, three hundred thousand soldiers, of whom more than a hundred and fifty thousand were horsemen, eight hundred cannon, and thirteen hundred elephants. A few hundred English were swallowed up, as it were, in this prodigious army (March, 1750).

The situation was critical. Murzapha and Chunda Sahib fell back under Pondicherry with their troops. The numerical inferiority was enormous: on the other hand, although Dupleix had advanced a very large sum from his own funds, money and resources were lacking; demoralization spread among the French soldiers, and even the officers; and the disorder became such, that the commander, D'Auteuil, fearing a rout at the first attack, ordered the French soldiers to return to the town. Chunda Sahib followed them with his troops. Murzapha Jung could not prevail on himself to suffer the great standard of the Deccan, which was in his hands, to *retreat*, which would have covered it with indelible infamy in the eyes of the Moguls: he preferred capitulating. Nazir Jung swore on the Koran to leave him his liberty, and the government of a province. Murzapha repaired to the tent of the subahdar: he was seized, and loaded with chains; and his companions, treacherously assailed, were cut to pieces.

In such circumstances, it seemed as if not to be annihilated, and to save Pondicherry a second time, was the highest ambition that one could propose to himself. Another would have thought only of life: Dupleix did not cease for a single day to think of empire. Arms were powerless: he set in motion the springs of that vast diplomacy, that endless correspondence, long carried on by his wife, *Joanna Begum*, with all India. He attempted to nego-

tiate: Nazir consented. From that moment, Nazir was lost. Dupleix was thoroughly acquainted with the dissensions which existed between all the different chiefs and tribes that formed the immense and confused army of Nazir. He did not obtain acceptable conditions; but he gained time, entered into secret relations with the Patan[1] and Mahratta chiefs; then, in order to raise the military reputation of the French, caused a handful of soldiers one night to surprise the enemy's camp, buried in the heavy sleep of opium, and filled it with disturbance and terror. Nazir broke up his camp (the end of April), and, abandoning the siege of Pondicherry, went to take possession of Arcot, the chief town of the Carnatic. Discipline returned with fortune. Dupleix vigorously resumed the offensive. Mahomet Ali, Chunda Sahib's competitor for the nabobship of the Carnatic, kept the field with twenty thousand men. The French, commanded by Combeau d'Auteuil, utterly defeated Mahomet Ali, despite the support of an English detachment, and took possession, by escalade, of Gingee, a place rendered the strongest in India by its position between three mountains, crowned with citadels, and commanding the upper part of the river of the same name, at the mouth of which Pondicherry is situated (August, September, 1750).

The news of the capture of Gingee aroused Nazir: he quitted Arcot, and turned again on the French with more than a hundred thousand men; the rest had returned to the Deccan. The rainy season (September–December) arrested him in the suburbs of Gingee. It was his turn to ask to treat. Dupleix carried on a double negotiation; the one public, with Nazir, the other secret, with the leaders of the malecontents, ready either to sign the peace if Nazir finally kept his word to Murzapha and gave the investiture of the Carnatic to Chunda Sahib, or to attack him if he refused. Nazir consented, but too late. While the ratified treaty was on the way to Pondicherry, the commander of Gingee, Le Prévost de La Touche, summoned by the conspired chiefs, moved upon the enemy by a night-march. At daybreak, eight hundred French and three thousand sepoys, with ten cannon, fell intrepidly on this camp of a hundred thousand men, which still numbered more than forty thousand horsemen, seven hundred elephants, and three hundred and fifty pieces of artillery. They drove before them all that they met. Contending with constantly renewed masses, they nevertheless began to grow weary of conquering. Behind the first line which they had broken, and the frag-

[1] Originally Afghans, settled in the south of India.

ments of which they had dispersed, they perceived a second line of at least forty thousand men. Suddenly, in the midst of this great stationary reserve guard, a white flag appeared above an elephant: it was the signal of the conspirators. The French halted: a great commotion speedily apprised them that a catastrophe had just occurred. Nazir Jung, furious at the inaction of the second line, had hastened thither with his guards, and addressed as dog and coward the first nabob whom he met, who was one of the Patan chiefs. The nabob answered by a bullet from his carabine, which hurled Nazir from his elephant. Nazir's head was carried to Murzapha Jung, who passed, without transition, from fetters to a throne. The battle ceased instantaneously. The whole army proclaimed or submitted to Murzapha.

December 15, 1750, Murzapha entered Pondicherry in triumph, borne in the same palanquin with Dupleix. The subahdar and the governor, in token of fraternity, exchanged their turbans and weapons in the presence of the people. A throne had been prepared for Murzapha in the French town. He seated Dupleix by his side, and received there the oaths of all the chiefs of the army: thirty nabobs and fifty rajahs were under the jurisdiction of his subahdarship. The first chief that rendered him homage, in the magnificent costume of the nabobs, was Dupleix himself. The subahdar, in the name of the Great Mogul, proclaimed Dupleix nabob of all the provinces on the south of the River Kistnah, which comprised, with the Carnatic, all the south of the Deccan, all the southern extremity of India, a country almost as large as France. It was really a division of the subahdarship. Chunda Sahib, the Nabob of the Carnatic, and many other nabobs and rajahs, were therefore, thenceforth, under the jurisdiction of Dupleix.[1] The boldest hopes had become realities: India for the first time recognized European superiority, and bowed before France.

Sudden revolutions of fortune succeeded each other with stunning rapidity in this gigantic drama. Murzapha set out to take possession of the Deccan, with his army and a small auxiliary corps, composed of three hundred French and two thousand sepoys, under the command of Bussi-Castelnau, the officer who had taken Gingee (January, 1751). Dupleix had recognized in Bussi the man of all others best fitted to understand and second him,

[1] The extent of the grant made to Dupleix has been disputed: in any case, it is beyond doubt that the nabobship of the Carnatic was granted to him, and that Chunda Sahib was his subordinate.

and had confided to him the glorious mission of doing in Central India what he himself was doing in the South: an inviolable friendship thenceforth united these two men. The genius of Bussi was soon put to the test. Scarcely had the army of the subahdar quitted the Carnatic when an insurrection broke out among those very Patans who had raised Murzapha to the throne over the corpse of Nazir, but to all of whose unreasonable demands, Murzapha, supported by Dupleix, had been unwilling to submit. The French put the rebels to flight: Murzapha pursued them. On seeing him, the Patan chiefs turned back, and urged their elephants against that of the subahdar. Murzapha accepted the challenge, mortally wounded one of the hostile nabobs, and fell, riddled with arrows and javelins.

Bussi avenged and replaced him. The principal chiefs of the Patans fell under the blows of the French or of their friends. Bussi, a conqueror, assembled the ministers and vassals of the deceased prince, and caused them to elect on the same day an uncle of Murzapha, Salabut-Jung. Salabut installed himself in Golconda, the ancient capital of the Deccan (April, 1751); but a formidable rival rose against him: one of his brothers purchased a firman of the Great Mogul, and drew upon the Deccan the entire confederation of the Mahrattas. Hemmed in by three armies which numbered full two hundred and fifty thousand men, Salabut and Bussi were in great peril, when the death of the pretender opportunely put an end to the civil war in the Deccan. The Mahrattas continued hostilities on their own account; but their immense cavalry could not stand against the musketry and artillery of a handful of French and Indian regular troops. After several repulses, they treated; and Salabut, the undisputed master of the Deccan, testified his gratitude to Bussi by conferring on the company, as a military fief, the investiture of five provinces as a guarantee of the pay of the auxiliary corps, which was greatly increased. These were the *circars* or circles of Condavir, Mustapha Nagar, Elora, Rajamundri, and Chicacole; in a word, all the coast of Orissa, extending north-east of the Coromandel and the River Kistnah, from Medapilly to the famous pagoda of Juggernaut, almost to the entrance of Bengal. Masulipatam thus became really the capital of a French kingdom, separated from the Deccan by a chain of mountains easily defended. The revenue of the new territories of the company was fifteen millions. The Great Mogul confirmed every thing. The French ruled, directly

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Antoine Louis Rouillé Cte de Jouy
Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat 1761

3627

or indirectly, a full third of India as to extent, and much more than a third as to wealth and population. Another step, and the Great Mogul would fall himself under our jurisdiction.[1]

Asia would have been ours, if, with Dupleix and Bussi in India, we had still had Louis XIV. and Colbert at Versailles, — if we had even had Law; but, instead of Louis XIV. and Colbert, we had Louis XV. and Pompadour, and the incapable revenue farmers that governed the Indian Company. As to the men of special talent in the ministry, Machault and Rouillé, they understood or would understand nothing but the wish of the King to maintain peace with England, and to keep silence at any price around the Parc-aux-Cerfs. The success of Dupleix, which dazzled France afar off, only caused the rulers disquietude and embarrassment: instead of reënforcements, they sent him exhortations to peace.

While the French government was appalled at its good fortune, the company, then the government of England, finally enlightened with respect to its Indian affairs, determined to arrest the progress of their rivals, and shook off their inertia to rekindle the war with vigor at the very nucleus of Dupleix's power in the Carnatic. Mahomet Ali, the rival of Chunda Sahib, the nabob of the French, had kept Trichinopoly, where he had been shut in by Chunda Sahib. At the beginning of 1751, the English sent him a reënforcement: the French sent one also to Chunda Sahib. The English were defeated: nevertheless, they succeeded in several times revictualling Trichinopoly (February–July, 1751). This place would have finally succumbed, had not a young man, who had recently been transferred from the bureaus of the English Company to the military service, suggested to his leaders to save the last asylum of Mahomet Ali by a diversion against Arcot, the chief town of the Carnatic. This young man was Clive, the future rival and successful imitator of Dupleix! The command of the expedition which he had counselled was given him. With a few hundred men, he seized Arcot without resistance. The inhabitants of these large Indian towns were accustomed to change masters like flocks of sheep (September, 1751). Clive defended his easy conquest with much energy against the troops despatched by Chunda Sahib and reënforced by a French detachment. Succored by a corps of Mahrattas, he forced the Franco-Indians to raise the siege of Arcot, and defeated them twice; then joined the

[1] About this epoch, he solicited of Madame Dupleix the hand of her youngest daughter; the same who was promised to Bussi as the price of his victories.

English commander-in-chief, Lawrence, to endeavor also to compel the raising of the prolonged siege of Trichinopoly.

These first repulses had shaken the ascendency of Dupleix in the south of the peninsula. The Mysore, a new kingdom formed at the west of the Carnatic, and which was destined later to struggle with so much obstinacy against the English power, declared itself in favor of Mahomet Ali and the English: the rajah of Tanjore followed this example. Lawrence, reënforced by twenty-five thousand Indians, was enabled, in his turn, to besiege the Franco-Indian corps which had besieged Trichinopoly, and which had withdrawn near by, to the two pagodas of Cheringam, an island of the River Cavery. A French detachment despatched from Pondicherry to the aid of Cheringam was hemmed in by Clive with superior forces, and obliged to surrender (April, 1752). Nothing was left for the corps shut up in Cheringam to do but to cut their way with the sword to Pondicherry. Unfortunately, the commander Law, the nephew of the famous comptroller-general, was not a Bussi. Hesitating and irresolute, he suffered his troops to become discouraged in inaction, and the English to bring siege artillery at their leisure from Devicotta. The nabob, Chunda Sahib, deeming a disaster imminent, attempted to escape, and purchased the protection of one of the hostile chiefs, the commander of the Tanjorians. The Tanjorian received the money, and delivered up Chunda Sahib, who was slaughtered. Law, threatened with being captured by assault in his island, capitulated: the whole French corps remained prisoners of war.

The effect of this news in France was deplorable. "*We were right!*" was the cry of every jealous mediocrity, of every official coward. The government seemed happy at seeing its predictions justified concerning the instability of all this glory. The reaction extended to the company. France doubted whether she had not been duped by a romance of empire. The fatal coincidence of the trial of La Bourdonnais, — a trial of which the public by no means saw the full scope, and in which the principal culprit was the government, contributed to prejudice men against Dupleix.[1]

[1] La Bourdonnais, as we have already said, exercised, from his acquittal to his death, a very unhappy influence on the company and the ministry. The correspondence of the brave D'Auteuil, who was at once his brother-in-law and that of Madame Dupleix, furnishes too many proofs of this. Some enlightened men, the Ex-Governor Dumas and others, had at first sustained Dupleix in the company; but they had quitted it, and the company had fallen into the worst possible hands.

The general opinion may be judged to a certain point from Voltaire, who was not hostile to Dupleix, but who, if he fully comprehended the importance of the relations with India in a scientific and philosophic point of view, understood absolutely nothing of it in a political point of view.[1] Public opinion, however, would inevitably have turned in his favor, had time been left it.

Dupleix had not been shaken a moment by his reverses: he put into the field the few soldiers that remained to him, reënforced by the crews of the company's vessels, in order to save at any price the fortified town of Gingee, his most valuable conquest. A first English corps despatched against Gingee was defeated: the commander-in-chief, Lawrence, repulsed the French in his turn, but did not take Gingee. Diplomacy began again to serve Dupleix: he gained over anew the inhabitants of Mysore, to whom Mahomet Ali had promised, then refused, the cession of Trichinopoly. The Mahrattas in the pay of Mysore joined the French: Dupleix created another nabob, named Mortiz Ali; advanced seven millions, either from his own funds or borrowed by him, to sustain the war; and, six months after the disaster to Law and Chunda Sahib, the offensive was resumed, and the siege of Trichinopoly renewed. Lawrence returned to the succor of this place. He was defeated on the very Island of Cheringam, the scene of his recent successes: he retrieved his position by two considerable advantages, and in October, 1753, provisioned Trichinopoly for some months. Six hundred French and a corps of sepoys attempted to surprise the place, which they could no longer hope to reduce by famine: they carried the first line of outworks, but could not force the second, and were partially surrounded, and taken between the double walls.

The indomitable Dupleix was not discouraged; but, to satisfy in some degree the ministry and the company, he opened conferences, in January, 1754, with Saunders, the Governor of Madras. Dupleix desired peace only on advantageous conditions: the English did not desire it at all. Dupleix counted on Bussi: Saunders counted, we will not say on his government, but on the French government, which he rightly appreciated! He was cognizant of the negotiations that had taken place between the two cabinets and the two companies since 1752. Dupleix refusing to recognize Mahomet Ali as the nabob of the Carnatic, the parleys were broken off. Meanwhile, the little French army had again

[1] See *Siècle de Louis XV.* c. xxix.; and *Fragments sur l'Inde*, appended to the *Histoire du Parlement de Paris.*

taken the field before Trichinopoly. In the month of February, 1754, a large provision train, escorted by the élite of the English troops, was captured, and all the escort destroyed. Bussi, hitherto retained in the Deccan by the necessity of holding the great Mahratta chiefs in check, and of thwarting the intrigues of the English at the very court of the subahdar, was about to be in a position to interfere in the Carnatic. Clive, on the contrary, the most brilliant officer and the ablest politician that the English possessed in India, had set out, sick, for Europe. Every thing announced a brilliant turn of fortune.

During this interval, some vessels of the company appeared in the roadstead of Pondicherry, bringing twelve hundred soldiers (August, 1754). It was more than would have been needed to complete the victory; but these vessels and soldiers were commanded by one of the directors of the company, charged with full powers by the French government to conclude peace with the English. The first act of this commissioner was to apprise Dupleix of his removal, and to take his place. The English cabinet had made the recall of Dupleix the absolute condition of peace; and Louis XV. and his ministers had bowed their heads!

Dupleix expected this: he knew the hatred that had accumulated against him. The company had insinuated to him the advice to ask for his recall: he had refused to do so, unless he were replaced by Bussi, the only man capable of taking up and finishing his work.[1] He had labored for the glory of France much more than for his own glory; and would have been resigned to obscurity and forgetfulness, provided that his idea triumphed in the name of another. He would have loved La Bourdonnais as he loved Bussi, had La Bourdonnais been willing to comprehend and second his system.

Instead of Bussi, a clerk by the name of Godeheu was given him as a provisional successor, — a man with no other talent than intrigue, and with no other system than peace at any price, and a base envy of the great man. This personage, after climbing step by step to the rank of director of the company, had been for several years pursuing an organized plan of treachery against Dupleix. It may be proved by his own confession in his manuscript journal, that he had systematically prevented the sending of troops enough to Dupleix to insure him the victory.[2] Dupleix,

[1] "There is no one to be seen greater than Bussi," he wrote in France. — Saint-Priest, *La Perte de l'Inde sous Louis XV.*

[2] *Journal du voyage de M. Godeheu*, p. 81; *MSS. de la Bibl.*, No. 6,990.

greater in misfortune than he had ever been in triumph, restrained his grief and resentment, and strove to awaken, by force of magnanimity, some sentiments of honor and patriotism in this vile soul.[1] Bussi, indignant and despairing, wished to abandon every thing, and to depart with him: he forced him to remain in the Deccan, then entreated Godeheu at least to stretch out his hand to seize Trichinopoly, ready to fall. Godeheu removed the brave and able officer whom Dupleix had proposed for the direction of the siege. The English then succeeded in introducing supplies, and the place was saved. Godeheu sequestrated the revenues designed to reimburse the advances of Dupleix, which amounted to not less than thirteen millions. Dupleix embarked with his family for France. Two days after his departure, Godeheu signed a treaty with the English governor, Saunders, the basis of which had been fixed upon between the cabinets of Versailles and St. James (October 11, 1754). It was stipulated that the two companies should be forever interdicted from interfering in the internal politics of India; that their agents should renounce all dignities, charges, or honors conferred by the princes of the country; that all the places and territories occupied by the two companies should be restored to the Great Mogul, except the possessions which they had held before the War of the Carnatic, which left the English Devicotta; that the possessions of the two companies should be put on a footing of perfect equality as to extent and revenue; that the district of Masulipatam should be divided between the two companies; that the French should renounce all territorial revenue (and consequently all political command) in the rest of the *circars* of Orissa; and that each of the two nations should have there only four or five factories.

The English ceded a few hamlets: France ceded an empire.

There is no example in modern history of a nation having been betrayed to this point by its government; it is the ideal of ignominy: to find any thing like it, we must go back to those cowardly kings of the East, who precipitated themselves from the throne at the beck of the Roman proconsuls.

France comprehended too late what she had lost. She discerned that the reverses, of which haste had been made to inform

[1] We have in our hands two letters written in September, 1754, under the blow of the recall of Dupleix; the one by Bussi, the other by one of the higher officers of the company. Nothing can be imagined more poignant as to the ruin of French influence in India, fallen in a single day, or more sublime as to the attitude and whole conduct of Dupleix. — Dupleix family papers, communicated by M. P. Margry.

her, had been on the point of being completely repaired. When Dupleix, and the heroic woman who had been the confidante and indispensable auxiliary of his designs, landed on the soil of France, a signal reaction broke forth in their favor. "My wife and I," wrote Dupleix, "dare not appear in Lorient for the concourse of people that wish to see us and bless us." At all the relays between Lorient and Paris, the people flocked around them with marks of sympathy and admiration, as if to protest against the recall of the hero of India. The court felt the reaction of this national impulse. The comptroller-general, Séchelles, the favorite, and the King, at first gave Dupleix and his wife so kind a reception, that they hoped for full justice. The illusion was speedily dispelled. No hope was realized; no promise was kept. Misfortune nevermore ceased implacably to pursue Dupleix and his family. Madame Dupleix died at Paris in December, 1756. Her daughter, who had been affianced to Bussi, soon followed her to the grave (April, 1759). Dupleix passed his last years in vainly seeking to recover his fortune and that of his friends, swallowed up in the costs of the war: his friends and relatives had devoted themselves with him. The company made them bankrupt likewise with the complicity of the government. An *order from the King*, that is, an impudent denial of justice, arrested the suit commenced by Dupleix against the company. He was compelled to obtain writs to stay the proceedings of his creditors, in order to avoid being dragged to prison; and died November 11, 1763, after witnessing the fall of our colonies, and the humiliation of that France which he had dreamed of as so glorious.

Modern France has not yet paid its debt to this illustrious victim of the monarchy. Dupleix still awaits a monument from that country which he sought to endow with a world. History, at least, has finally done its duty by proclaiming him one of the greatest men and the best patriots ever possessed by France, — a man of the race of the Richelieus[1] and the Colberts. He was born too late or too soon. He should have lived in 1660, or in 1792, — in an epoch of glorious organization, or in one of supreme danger and supreme devotion.[2]

[1] Of the race of Richelieu by genius, but purer in soul.

[2] See, on the Indian affairs, *Mémoire pour le sieur Dupleix, contre la Compagnie des Indes*, Paris, 1759, 4to; *Réfutation des faits imputés au sieur Godeheu par le sieur Dupleix, ibid.*, 1764; Saint-Priest (who has examined, but without sufficient accuracy, many manuscript documents), *La Perte de l'Inde sous Louis XV.*; Barchou de Penhoën, *Histoire de la Fondation de l'empire anglais dans l'Inde*, t. I. liv. iv.; and the English

At the very moment when all the interests and all the future of France in Asia were sacrificed to an impossible peace, hostilities were reopened in the other hemisphere, in the wilds of North America.

Several questions had remained pending, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and England, — one, of inconsiderable consequence, the partition of the Caribbean Isles (St. Lucia, Tobago, Dominica, and St. Vincent);[1] the other, far greater and of prime importance, the limits of Canada. It suffices to define this question to show that it was insoluble by diplomacy. It was not frontiers that were in dispute, but immense regions, — the empire of Northern America. The discussion dated back to the peace of Utrecht, which, in ceding Nova Scotia to the English, had not defined with precision the boundaries of this country. The English claimed that Acadia, or Nova Scotia, comprised not only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, but all the region situated between this peninsula, New England, the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; that is to say, the whole south of Canada. They claimed the right, besides, to extend far to the south of Hudson's Bay, towards the north of Canada, and to spread at pleasure, from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Carolina, in the great Valley of the Ohio, as far as the south of Lakes Erie and Ontario. The French maintained, on the contrary, that Nova Scotia did not even comprise all the peninsula, but only the southern part; and that the whole course of the Ohio, which connected Canada with Louisiana, belonged to them, as well as the Mississippi, by virtue of the discoveries of Cavalier de la Salle. In short, the English wished to cut off communication between Canada and Louisiana, and to reduce Canada almost to nothing: the French wished to shut in the English colonists of the continent between Canada, the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains, Louisiana, and the sea. With respect to Nova Scotia, the fact of possession was in favor of the French, who, after the peace of Utrecht, had only evacuated the peninsula, and had retained or founded numerous settlements between the St. Lawrence and the French Bay (or the Bay of Fundy), which separates Nova Scotia from Canada. It was evident that Louis XIV. had only intended to cede the peninsula; but

historians, Orme (the comrade and historian of Clive); Malcolm, *Vie de Clive;* Colonel Wilkes. M. Pierre Margry has collected all the materials for a biography of Dupleix, which will be a final authority concerning the life of this great man.

[1] These islands, by ancient agreements, had been left to the Caribs, and declared neutral; then France and England had begun to dispute them anew. The French had been settled at St. Lucia since the preceding century.

it was also evident that the point of right was the least thing in question here.[1]

The dispute was less between the two governments than between the two colonies. The English colony, or rather colonies, since, united in sentiments and interests, they were separated administratively, were no longer simple adjuncts, receiving their impulse from the mother-country, but political bodies, having an existence of their own, and a very lively instinct of their destinies. The inequality of wealth and population between the English and the French colonies of North America was prodigious. The latter, although they were progressing, since the population of Canada had more than tripled from the Regency to 1759 (twenty-five thousand souls in 1721, fifty thousand in 1744, eighty-two thousand in 1759), amounted to little more than eighty thousand souls. Their exportation in 1753 did not exceed the value of one million seven hundred thousand francs: their importation, through what was sent by the government, amounted to five million two hundred thousand francs.[2] There was so little mechanical art among them, that they bought of their English neighbors part of the vessels with which to carry on their internal navigation. The English colonies had at least twelve thousand inhabitants. Their exports amounted to the value of thirty-seven millions, and their imports to that of twenty-four and a half millions.

The causes of this extreme inequality are not doubtful. We need not seek the explanation in the pretended maxim that *the French have no genius for colonization*, or in other analogous commonplaces. This inequality of growth pertained much less to the genius of the two nations than to the opposite system of the two governments. "We cannot too often repeat to France, who is seeking to-day to spread her race, language, and institutions in Africa, what ruined her colonial system in the New World, where she should have predominated. The lack of association in the mother-country for the encouragement of *agricultural* immigration, . . . the absence of liberty, and the passion for arms diffused among the colonists, — such were the principal causes through which Canada languished."[3] France should not disdain this ad-

[1] See Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*, Quebec, 1846, t. II. *passim*; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. I. p. 362.

[2] We quote the figures of M. Garneau: M. Dussieux, however, estimates the exportation of peltries for 1754 at three millions. — See L. Dussieux, *Le Canada sous la domination française*, p. 54, 8vo, Paris, 1855.

[3] Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*, t. II. p. 175. Concerning the comparative statistics of the French and English colonies, *ibid.*, t. III. p. 6.

vice, given from the other hemisphere by a child of that Canada which has remained French at heart after a century of foreign dominion.

In the English colonies, political and religious liberty manifested themselves from the beginning. The most varied elements accumulated, or were brought into juxtaposition. The aristocratic Anglican gentlemen of Virginia and the Carolinas, transformed later by the philosophical and republican influence of Locke;[1] the austere and democratic Puritans of New England; the peaceable and tolerant Quakers of Pennsylvania, — all varieties of opinion, all categories of English society, were represented in the New World. All whose interests or ideas clashed with those about them, all who were poor and courageous, crossed the sea without obstacle.[2] Among these different aggregations and legislations, each one found his place; even foreigners, Dutch, French, Swedes, and Germans. It was a universal asylum. The degrees of political liberty varied. Some colonies administered themselves; others had governors appointed by the King, or by the original landed proprietors, — a kind of feudal suzerains. Everywhere, however, popular assemblies participated in the power, and in the framing of the laws; everywhere the democratic spirit, enlightened by the progress of philosophy and tolerance, took the lead. A new England was formed there in an inverse direction to the old one; that is to say, the political elements that had been conquered or repressed in the old England of the seventeenth century were victorious without conflict in the America of the eighteenth century. This new England redoubled the native energy of its race by the substitution of the spirit of equality and rationalism for hereditary respect for existing institutions. A powerful agricultural and commercial activity signalized this youthful society.

The French colonies, on the contrary, seemed destined to be eternally in leading-strings, through political and religious despotism. The New World was chained by the laws and customs of the Old. The double arbitrariness of the governor and the intendant was tempered by the influence of the monks, instead of by popular representation: the development of human activity was everywhere fettered. There was not even the unity of absolute

[1] Locke was commissioned in 1673, by Lord Shaftesbury, to draw up the laws of South Carolina. His legislation was not enduring; but his spirit profoundly imbued America.

[2] The Stuarts had attempted for a moment to oppose it, and it had cost Charles I. dear. It is well known that an order of this King retained Cromwell and Hampden, when about to embark to America in 1638.

power: for the military or civil authority and the monastic influence were always at variance. The Jesuits subordinated the rest of the clergy, treated the colonial administrators as *persecutors of religion*, when they did not deliver up every thing to them without control; and showed themselves at once admirable in their missions among the savages,[1] and insupportable at the centre of the colony, — a contrast which cannot astonish us. They knew how to have every thing, *even saints*, to use the expression of Chesterfield, who had studied them so well. Their able leaders sent the *saints* to the post of danger, the politicians to that of intrigue.

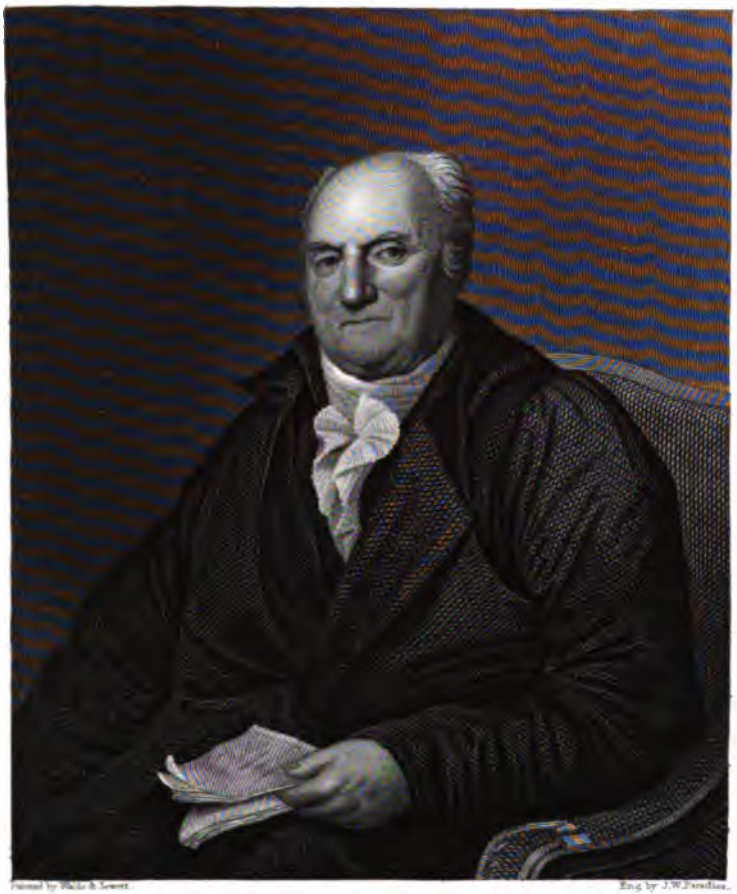
To crown all these abuses, the governor, intendant, magistrates, and priests carried on commerce, and discouraged the merchants by a leonine rivalry: the Jesuits went so far as to engage in smuggling.[2] Orderly and civilized liberty, the regular development of minds and things, was therefore impossible: the Canadian fled to uncivilized nature; adventurous spirits, in which the colony abounded, took refuge in the independence of the forest; the colonist lived like the savage, and often with him. Hence came that *passion for arms* which the historian of Canada represents as fatal to the colony. The Canadian was neither an agriculturist nor a merchant, but a soldier-hunter, who cultivated only just enough for his needs, and who knew no other commerce than the vagrant traffic in peltries.

Louisiana, save the difference of climate, was in a condition analogous to Canada. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a great number of Huguenots had taken refuge in the English colonies. The love of France still lived in their hearts; and, towards the close of the reign of Louis XIV., they entreated the aged King to permit them to settle in Louisiana. Louis refused. They renewed their prayer to the Regent: the Regent had not the courage to consent. They remained English despite themselves: their children were destined one day to take a glorious part in the enfranchisement of America.[3] How many times since the days of Admiral Coligni had the project of opening the French colonial

[1] With reservations and exceptions, of course.

[2] Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*, t. II. p. 533.

[3] "Of nine chairmen of the ancient Congress that conducted the United States through the Revolutionary War, three were descended from French Protestant refugees; namely, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, the celebrated John Jay of New York, and Elias Boudinot of New Jersey."—Garneau, t. II. p. 181. On the importance of the Huguenot element in English America, at New York and elsewhere, see Ch. Weiss, *Hist. des Réfugiés protestants*, t. II.



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system to religious liberty been proposed, and how many times rejected by the monarchy! What would a free France have become in the New World? None can tell; but there is reason to believe that this was a great misfortune to France, and to America itself, the genius of which might have been modified and completed by a powerful French element. It is certain that the result has condemned the colonial system of political and religious absolutism, and has proved that great colonies are incompatible with the military régime and the rule of monks.

Of two rival systems of colonization, constituted as we have just described, one was evidently destined in the end to destroy the other. One thing alone had prevented this catastrophe from taking place ten times over during the century: that same passion for arms which fettered the growth of Canada had saved its life. The heroic tendencies of the French nature had expanded with marvellous energy in the adventurous life led by the colonists; and their martial superiority over their laborious neighbors had permitted them to resist forces which seemed destined to swallow them up. Among them, there were as many soldiers as there were men able to bear arms. They had the valor of the buccaneers without their cruelty.

Less warlike in habits, but not less enduring, and endowed with indomitable perseverance, the English continually resumed their plan of invasion, so many times defeated by the Canadian sword. The restitution of Louisburg to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had thrown them into consternation; and peace was scarcely signed, when they already used all their efforts to induce the English government to begin the war anew. "There is no repose for our thirteen colonies," wrote BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, "so long as the French are masters of Canada."[1] This speech of the most illustrious man that the English colonies then possessed expressed the general feeling of the Anglo-Americans. It is not certain, indeed, that, under this idea so hostile to France, there was not already another idea unfavorable to England, and that Franklin and many other colonists did not even then discern, at least as one of the possibilities of the future, the independence of America behind the conquest of Canada. Far-sighted minds had predicted among us, as early as 1711, that, if Canada were wrested from France, the English colonists, once rid of these warlike neighbors, would not be long in separating from their mother-

[1] Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, p. 139.

country. In 1733, the Marquis d'Argenson had repeated this prediction in his Memoirs.

The projects of the Anglo-Americans were pursued with unity and decision. Adroit efforts were made with some success to break the bonds of that sympathy, or at least that preference, which attracted the majority of the savages to the French, and won formidable auxiliaries for the latter. The English offered the *red-skins* the bait of a more advantageous, more extended, and freer trade. At the same time, the English posts were moved forward on all sides. In 1749, a company, formed in the mother-country and the colonies, procured a grant of six hundred thousand acres in the Valley of the Ohio, the *Beautiful River*, as it was called by the French: other projectors of colonial settlements set about advancing from Nova Scotia towards the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and from Hudson's Bay towards the north of Canada. The French governor, La Galissonière, prevented the English from quitting the Nova-Scotian peninsula, and drew upon the Canadian territory, at the north of the Bay of Fundy, a part of the Nova-Scotians of French extraction who had not quitted their country after the cession in 1713, and who had succeeded hitherto in evading the oath of allegiance to the King of England, and the obligation to preserve neutrality in time of war. He held his ground also on the Ohio, whence he expelled the English traders: he had taken possession of the country, as early as 1748, by planting stakes at the principal points of this vast and verdant wilderness. He erected forts to support the formal taking of possession, and requested the Governor of Pennsylvania to keep his colonists on the east of the mountains. La Galissonière was recalled during the interval: on his return, he did all in his power to enlighten the government concerning the dangers of Canada, and the means of defence to be employed; and urged the ministers to send ten thousand French farm laborers as speedily as possible to people the shores of the lakes and the upper part of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, in order to secure the colony against the dearth that threatened it as soon as the war broke out. The cabinet of Versailles did not send a peasant, while the English cabinet sent nearly four thousand new colonists to found Halifax in Nova Scotia.[1]

[1] On every thing that regards Canada, see Garneau, t. II. *passim*. Advice was not lacking: the aged Marshal de Noailles presented excellent memorials to the King on the means of despatching military colonists gradually, and without noise, to Canada. — See *Mém. de Noailles*.

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Here, as in India, the cabinet of Versailles had no other idea than that of peace, and negotiated instead of preparing to fight. It had urged, then entreated, the English government to proceed to the formation of the mixed commission that was to regulate the questions which remained pending. England made no haste, and consented only with an ill grace. Memorials were exchanged, then conferences were opened from September, 1750. They were as numerous as useless. We have already set forth the respective pretensions. They differed so widely, that it was impossible to agree. The French cabinet was not treading here on new and unknown ground as in Hindostan; it dared not sacrifice the interests of France with the same cowardice; established precedents, rights, or pretensions, authenticated by diplomatic tradition, and even French possessions of long standing, in point of fact, were here in question. It would have ceded much: it dared not cede every thing. The evident intention of a rupture, which England suffered to transpire, rendered the conduct of the government of Louis XV. still more shameful. When this wretched cabinet sacrificed India, it could no longer doubt that it would speedily have war with the English in America;[1] but it had relapsed into the absurd illusion of the neutrality of India, as in the times of La Bourdonnais: the result was destined to be absolutely the same.

Hostilities were well-nigh suspended in Nova Scotia, where the parties held each other in check in the isthmus that separates the peninsula from the dependencies of Canada; but the contest had commenced on the Ohio. Both sides had sent troops and built forts, or rather palisaded retreats, towards the south of the Great Lakes and the Ohio. The French arrested the English merchants, seized several trading-posts, captured a fort from their rivals, and built another, which they called Fort Duquesne, — the name of a new governor of Canada, the grand-nephew of the illustrious admiral. Fort Duquesne, situated between the Ohio and the Alleghany Mountains, was designed to serve as a barrier against the Anglo-Americans who might descend from Pennsylvania and Virginia. The French commander of the Ohio, informed of the approach of an Anglo-American detachment, commissioned an officer named Villiers de Jumonville, at the head of thirty men, to reconnoitre this troop, and summon it to evacuate the French territory. Jumonville was unable to fulfil his commission: one

[1] As early as May 15, 1752, he had *ordered* the Governor of Canada to repel by force the encroachments of the English, if it was necessary, — an order which the Canadians had anticipated three years before.

morning he was surprised and suddenly assailed by the English, reënforced by a band of Indians. According to the French accounts, he raised a flag of truce, and even began to read his summons, which did not arrest the fire. The Anglo-American officer affirmed, on the other hand, that he had no knowledge of any attempt to parley. This officer, then very young, and recently appointed colonel of a regiment of Virginia militia, was GEORGE WASHINGTON. It cannot be admitted that the man who bore this name would have rendered himself guilty of a criminal violation of the laws of nations and of humanity; but the disorder of the attack, and the lack of discipline of the militia, may explain every thing. However this may be, Jumonville was killed with nine of his companions, and the rest were taken prisoners (May 18, 1754).

A cry of rage broke forth among the French troops on the Ohio. The commander-in-chief committed the task of vengeance to the brother himself of the victim, M. de Villiers, who marched against Washington with six hundred Canadians and a hundred Indians of the French party. Washington, who had about four hundred men, had just built a palisaded fort on an affluent of the Ohio, — the Monongahela, above Fort Duquesne. He was driven back into his intrenchments, and, after a sanguinary struggle that lasted a whole day, was obliged to capitulate on terms very humiliating to his soldiers (July 3). In the capitulation signed by the two commanders, Captain Villiers declares, that, commissioned to avenge "the *assassination* of a French officer, the bearer of a summons, and his escort, he is pleased to grant pardon to all the English that are in the fort."[1] The English abandoned their fort and artillery, gave hostages as a guarantee of the restitution of the French prisoners, and quitted the disputed territory.

While these events were transpiring on the Ohio, the governors and delegates of the English colonies had assembled at Albany, in the Colony of New York, to concert operations and to concentrate the resources of the different colonies, hitherto administratively isolated from each other. The alliance with the six small Iroquois nations that dwelt between the Lakes and New England was renewed; and a plan of federal union between the thirteen colo-

[1] The original capitulation is in the archives of the marine, with various documents concerning the catastrophe of Jumonville. We owe the communication of this as well as of many other manuscript documents on Canadian affairs to the kindness of M. Pierre Margry, who has long been preparing important publications concerning the history of the French colonies of North America. — See also a letter from Washington of May 29, 1754, ap. *Vie de Washington*, by M. Guizot, t. III. p. 1; and Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*, t. III. pp. 538–540.

G. Washington

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nies was adopted on the proposition of Dr. Franklin, the delegate from the assembly of Pennsylvania. A president appointed by the crown, and a grand council chosen by the colonial assemblies, were to form the government of the confederation. The idea of the Pennsylvania philosopher was at once premature and incomplete. The American Union was not to be founded under the auspices of constitutional monarchy. The British government rejected a plan which would have rendered the colonies too powerful towards the mother-country; and the colonial assemblies feared, on their side, to put themselves under the jurisdiction of a central administration. The English cabinet preferred carrying on the war with its soldiers and generals, and demanding of the colonies nothing but auxiliaries and money.

England hastened her preparations while continuing to amuse the cabinet of Versailles. New memorials were exchanged in the first months of 1755. England appeared for a moment to relax a little. The French cabinet then proposed the reciprocal evacuation of all the country situated between the Ohio and the Alleghany range. This was a great step backwards. The communication between Louisiana and Canada was reduced to the right bank of the Ohio, and full security was granted to the English frontiers. The English did not deign to take it into consideration, and demanded besides the destruction of the French settlements on the right of the Ohio as far as the Wabash; that of the forts of Niagara and Lake Champlain; the neutrality of the lakes; the cession of all the territory fronting the Nova-Scotian peninsula for twenty miles inland; and the evacuation and neutrality of all the rest of the country south of the St. Lawrence (March 7, 1755). The English government systematically proposed impossible conditions: it believed itself sure of taking Canada in two campaigns, and desired war, as the cabinet of Versailles desired peace, almost at any price.

England was already in a position to act. The people eagerly responded to the appeal of the government. The towns and corporations offered bounties to all who would enlist to serve on sea or land: a lottery, from which the ministry expected £1,000,000, yielded nearly £4,000,000. As early as January, 1755, a squadron set sail from Ireland to convey to Virginia, General Braddock, charged with the execution of a plan of operations devised by the Duke of Cumberland for the conquest of Canada. The vanquished of Fontenoy and the victor of Culloden was the most ardent promoter of the war. The cabinet of Versailles at

last determined, in its turn, to permit the departure of a squadron, in April, for the St. Lawrence, with a new governor of Canada, M. de Vaudreuil, and a general officer, M. de Dieskau, together with three thousand soldiers. The French fleet was anticipated by a second English squadron under the command of Admiral Boscawen. The French government demanded explanations: the ministers of George II., the Duke of Newcastle (Pelham), Lord Granville, and Henry Fox, replied that "the English certainly would not begin."[1] They *did begin*, and they were ordered to do so. Boscawen posted himself near the south-east promontory of Newfoundland in order to attack the French squadron on its way. The main body of the squadron passed under cover of a dense fog; but two ships of sixty-four guns, one of which was only partially armed, carrying five hundred troops, fell among the English: they were treacherously surrounded, and captured after a warm resistance (June 8, 1755). At this signal, English privateers were let loose on all the seas. A third and fourth squadron sailed from the British ports to intercept the French ships: before the close of the year, three hundred of our trading-vessels, valued at thirty millions, had been carried into the ports of England, and six thousand of our sailors were languishing in harsh captivity, or saw themselves forced, by want and ill-treatment, to serve against their country. Although the English had more than once been guilty of disloyal surprises on the seas, the civilized world had never yet seen a violation of the law of nations comparable to this gigantic piracy.[2]

Meanwhile Canada was attacked simultaneously at four points by fifteen thousand men, to whom it could only oppose less than seven thousand (two thousand eight hundred regular troops and four thousand militia), without including the garrison of Louisburg. The system of the aggressors had been foreseen, and the defence well planned: it rested, at the south-east, on Fort Duquesne; at the north-east, on the forts of the peninsula of Nova Scotia; at the centre, on Fort Niagara, which commanded the outlet between Lakes Erie and Ontario, and on the abrupt gorges of Lake George, — a position which covered Lake Champlain and the roads to Montreal and Quebec, at the same time that it threatened the Valley of the Hudson and the road to New York. Un-

[1] Flassan, *Hist. de la Diplomatie française*, t. VI. p. 34; Garneau, *Hist. du Canada*, t. II. p. 550.

[2] Sainte-Croix, *Hist. de la Puissance navale de l'Angleterre*, t. II. p. 247; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. — See in the documents the list of the vessels captured.

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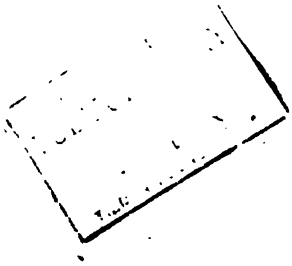

Painted by C. Schuessele

Engraved by J. B. Allen.

fortunately, the inadequacy of the forces had not permitted all the points to be sufficiently manned. On the side of Nova Scotia, where a population of from fifteen to eighteen thousand souls, of French extraction, asked for nothing but arms to expel the foreigners, not only was it impossible to assume an offensive which would have had decisive results with respect to the safety of Canada, but even to maintain the defensive. Two thousand Anglo-American militia from Boston landed on the shores of the Bay of Fundy, June 1, and, reënforced by three hundred soldiers, took the forts of the isthmus and the coast of the main land, sacked the settlements, and forced the Nova-Scotians that had recently emigrated from the peninsula to take refuge in the interior of Canada or on the islands of the Gulf. Nearly half the Nova-Scotian population (about seven thousand souls) had remained in the peninsula, on English territory; but their sympathies were not doubtful. The English pursued a barbarous course towards these poor creatures: they deported them in a body, and dispersed them through their colonies. This fertile coast remained ruined and depopulated until new English colonists filled up the void left by the ancient inhabitants.

The English were less successful in the rest of their operations. Their commander-in-chief, Braddock, had marched from Virginia on Fort Duquesne at the head of twenty-three hundred men, besides the Indian auxiliaries: he knew that the French had only a handful of soldiers on the Ohio, and pushed forward with such precipitation and confidence as to leave in the rear a thousand men with the heavy baggage. He was ignorant that the French had succeeded in rallying to their cause a part of their old friends, the *red-skins*. July 9, the Anglo-Americans were surprised in the forests of the Monongahela by two hundred and fifty Franco-Canadians and six hundred savages from Fort Duquesne. The English corps, crowded together in a defile and riddled with bullets by almost invisible enemies, was overpowered. General Braddock remained on the battle-field with two thirds of his men. His reserve corps, which was a few leagues in the rear, abandoned baggage and guns, and fled to Pennsylvania, leaving the English frontiers a prey to the ravages of the Canadians and the *red-skins*. An order from the English cabinet to treat the inhabitants of Canada like those of Nova Scotia, and to deport them from their country, was found among the papers of General Braddock!

The contest had not been less sanguinary in the direction of

Lake George, — a central point from which a decisive success of the English would have led them to the heart of Canada. Three thousand five hundred Anglo-Americans had set out from the Colony of New York, with a few Iroquois auxiliaries, to seize the defiles of this lake, and to attack Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. They established an intrenched camp at the head of Lake George. The French assumed the offensive. They had three thousand men at this point, including the Indians of their party. Their general, Dieskau made the same mistake as Braddock, and left half of his little army at a distance. The English commander, Johnson, on his side, had divided his forces into several detachments. Twelve hundred English and Iroquois attempted to surprise the French on the march. They were themselves surprised, utterly defeated, and pursued to the camp of Johnson, which Dieskau undertook to enter after them, sword in hand. He lost the victory by seeking to complete it. Part of his men, worn out by their first conflict, had not followed him; and he fell with only seven or eight hundred men on fifteen hundred fresh troops, well intrenched, and well supplied with artillery. He was wounded and taken, and his troops were driven back in disorder (September 8). This repulse had not the same results as that of General Braddock: the French rallied, and maintained themselves on Lake George. The English were forced to be content with keeping their intrenched camp.

Another body of the enemy, of two thousand men, which was to have besieged Niagara, did not even attempt the enterprise, and contented itself with reënforcing the position occupied by the English at Oswego, at the south of Lake Ontario.

The plan of the English against Canada had, therefore, failed at three of the four points attacked. Instead of a rapid invasion, a long and infuriated war was thenceforth in question, and a comparatively trifling assistance from France would have rendered success impossible.[1]

At the news of the piracies committed by the English, the French government had finally recalled its ambassador from London, and had ordered Dunkirk to be fortified on the side of the sea, the usual signal of a rupture: nevertheless, the cabinet of St. James having prescribed the sequestration of the captured ships, which seemed to admit the contingency of a restitution, it was still weak enough to send back an English frigate captured

[1] Garneau, t. III. liv. iv. c. i.; *Vie de Washington*, by M. Guizot, t. III. p. 14; Sainte-Croix, *Puissance navale de l'Angleterre*, t. II. p. 240.

COVE AMONG THE ISLANDS ON LAKE GEORGE.

CHAPTER VII.

LOUIS XV. (Continued).

Seven-Years' War. — The French Navy aroused. Naval Victory of Mahon, and Conquest of Minorca. Defeat of the English in America. Opportunity to repair the Abandonment of India. Fatal Diversion. Madame de Pompadour, gained over by Maria Theresa, plunges France into a Continental War. Alliance with Austria. Conflict between Austria, France, Russia, and Saxony, on the one hand, and England, Prussia, and the House of Brunswick, on the other. Criminal Attempt of Damiens. Fall of Machault and the Count d'Argenson. Insignificance and Obscurity of the Ministers of France. Ministry of Pitt in England. The French in Germany. Victory of Hastenbeck. The Anglo-Hanoverians capitulate at Kloster-Zeven, then violate the Capitulation. Rout of Rosbach. Military Superiority of the Prussians, and Disorganization of the French Army. Exploits and Genius of Frederick II. He is saved by the Intrigues of the Court of Russia. Heroic Defence and Success of the Canadians under Montcalm. Defeat of Crefeld. Loss of Louisburg and Senegal. Loss of Chandernagore. Successes, Mistakes, and Reverses of Lally in India. Loss of the Deccan. Final Ruin of the Plans of Dupleix and Bussi. Ravages of the English on the Coast of France. They are defeated at Saint-Cas. Accession of Choiseul, Prime Minister, in fact, under Madame de Pompadour. Projected Descent on England. Maritime Disasters of Lagos and Croisic. The Navy demoralized like the Army. Loss of Guadeloupe. Defeat and Death of Montcalm. Loss of Quebec. Last Efforts of the Canadians, abandoned by the Mother-country. Last Victory before Quebec. The Canadians, hemmed in by Three Armies, capitulate at Montreal. Admirable Defence of Frederick II. against the Austro-Russians. Ruinous and Inglorious War in Westphalia and Hesse. Financial Distress. Unsuccessful Attempts of Silhouette. Suspension of Payments. Violation of the Public Deposits. Loss of Pondicherry and all French India. Trial and Punishment of Lally. Useless Negotiations with England. Pitt refuses Peace. Loss of Belle-Isle. Family Compact between the Bourbons of France and Spain. Retirement of Pitt. Patriotic Gifts in France for the Revival of the Navy. Frederick II. on the Point of being overpowered. Death of the Czarina Elizabeth. The Czar Peter III. goes over to Prussia. He is dethroned by his Wife, and assassinated in Prison. Accession of Catharine II. She resumes Neutrality. Loss of Martinique. Invasion of Portugal by the Franco-Spaniards. Peace of Paris between France, Spain, and England. Peace of Hubertsburg between Austria, Prussia, and Saxony. France cedes Canada, Louisburg, and Senegal to England, restores Minorca to her, and dismantles Dunkirk anew. France recovers Guadeloupe, Martinique, Gorée, Belle-Isle, and Pondicherry. Spain cedes Florida to the English. France cedes Louisiana to Spain.

1756–1763.

The conflict, scarcely retarded a few months by so much cowardice and folly, had therefore arrived.

The inequality of the naval forces was enormous. The French navy, wholly ruined in 1748, had been revived, but in a ratio wholly disproportioned to the formidable masses accumulated in the ports of England. The English had one hundred ships of the line of from fifty to one hundred and twenty guns, sixteen of which were three-deckers of from ninety to one hundred and twenty guns, and seventy-four frigates of from thirty-two to forty-six guns. Their dockyards and arsenals were in the best condition: ours were destitute of ship-timber, masts, rigging, and even artillery. We had only sixty ships of the line and thirty-one frigates. Of the sixty ships, three were not in service, eight were undergoing repairs, four were unfinished on the stocks: of the other forty-five, the greater part needed refitting before putting to sea.[1] Even this number was due only to the fact that Machault, transferred to the marine in 1754, had caused fifteen ships to be rapidly built or finished within a year. Machault, so criminally complaisant or so unenlightened with respect to the affairs of India, aroused himself in the presence of necessity, and showed much decision and vigor. A great number of new vessels were put on the stocks; extraordinary efforts were made to procure supplies; premiums were offered to privateers; and considerable armaments at Brest and Havre, and numerous troops assembled in our ports of the Channel, made the English fear a descent, either on their coasts, or in Jersey or Guernsey. A general panic attested that England, so warlike on the ocean, was still far from being so on its own territory. The English people reassured themselves, as in the times of the invasion of Charles Edward, by calling in foreign mercenaries, — Hanoverians and Hessians. George II. had concluded a subsidy treaty the year before with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who had promised to sell him twelve thousand soldiers in case of need. The princes of Hesse, those descendants of heroes, were no longer any thing but traffickers in human flesh.

These threats of a descent on England misled the enemy with respect to the true projects of the French government, advised, it is said, by the aged Noailles. As early as the beginning of the year, small squadrons set sail from Brest for America: one went to defend the Lesser Antilles, where a French frigate of thirty-four guns took an English frigate of fifty-six guns; another posted itself in the waters of St. Domingo; and a third conveyed to Canada a new general, Montcalm, to replace Dieskau, with a feeble

[1] Sainte-Croix, t. II. pp. 249, 490; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 334.

reënforcement of fifteen hundred soldiers. Twelve ships of the line remained at Brest. April 10, twelve other ships, commanded by La Galissonière, the Ex-Governor of Canada, set sail from Toulon, escorting one hundred and fifty transports, laden with twelve thousand men, under the command of the Marshal de Richelieu. The expedition made a descent, on the 17th, on the Island of Minorca.

The point of attack was well chosen: it was impossible to deal England a more sensible blow than to capture from her this post, from which she threatened Toulon, and commanded the western basin of the Mediterranean. Port Mahon was a much more formidable offensive position than Gibraltar itself. The choice of the maritime leader was not less worthy of praise: La Galissonière was our best sailor. Public opinion did not accord the same welcome to the name of the general. The procurer of the King, the model seducer, more depraved in proportion as he grew older, no longer obtained from the public the indulgence and species of favor that he had owed too long to his brilliant vices. Despite the renown which Voltaire, bound by long habit to this deplorable friendship, had given to his exploits at Fontenoy and Genoa, little faith was had in his political and military talents. The result, however, did not confirm the apprehensions excited by his name.

The French, having made a descent on the western coast of Minorca, first seized Ciudadela, April 18; then moved on Mahon, the capital of the island. The English evacuated Mahon, and concentrated themselves in Fort St. Philip, an immense citadel commanding the entrance of the arm of the sea which forms Port Mahon. They did not resolve in time to destroy the village of St. Philip, situated under the fort; and the occupation of this hamlet by the French facilitated the approaches, which would have been very long and bloody, had it been necessary to cut the trenches, without cover, in the solid rock. The English government had suffered itself to be surprised. An arrogant confidence in 1755, then an exaggerated fear since the threats of a descent, had prevented it from wintering a squadron in the Mediterranean and reënforcing the garrison of Mahon. Though the citadel was strong and well-provisioned, the garrison was scanty: there were only twenty-five hundred men to defend this vast extent of fortifications. When a squadron of assistance at last appeared, May 19, in the waters of Minorca, the French cannon had already effected a breach in the outworks more than a week before.

On the encounter between the two squadrons was about to

depend the fate of the siege. The English fleet, commanded by Admiral Byng, was somewhat superior to the French fleet: it numbered thirteen ships, one of which was very large, against twelve. It opened the attack May 20, having the wind in its favor. The French vanguard, which first closed in with it, was considerably injured. The enemy, however, did not seek to profit by this: his aim was to cut off and overpower the rear-guard in order to advance to the strand of Fort St. Philip. La Galissonière comprehended his adversary's intention, and closed his line so firmly, that it was impossible for the English to break through. The cannonade was not to their advantage: the artillery of the French navy had the same superiority over theirs in firing that their infantry had over ours. Their manœuvres were foiled; and three of their vessels were leaking, and ready to sink. Admiral Byng, judging that a more prolonged contest might end in the destruction of his fleet, effected his retreat. La Galissonière, arrested by contrary winds, and faithful to the instructions which commanded him to subordinate every thing to the success of the siege, was unwilling to leave Port Mahon, and suffered the enemy to regain Gibraltar.

It was already a glorious success to have victoriously sustained a collision with the English on their own element. The land forces, seized with generous emulation, redoubled their ardor in the prosecution of the siege. The garrison of Fort St. Philip, however, was not discouraged: it hoped that the English fleet would return; and was reassured by viewing its deep fosses, its rocks hewn in bastions, its ground undermined, and ready to swallow up the assailants. The siege-works were very laborious, and Richelieu had at first directed them unskilfully. Conscious, nevertheless, that his reputation, his fortune, his all, were at stake, he made great efforts to apply himself to the siege, and to sustain the soldiers. Demoralization beginning to make its way into the camp, and the soldiery indulging too freely in the Spanish wines, Richelieu, instead of punishing them, issued an order, at the instigation of some of the corps commanders, that "any one who became intoxicated should not have the honor of entering the trenches." The idea was a happy one, and all ceased drinking.

Success by the regular process of engineering, nevertheless, seemed still very remote. Richelieu risked a general assault. This was very rash: it was relying greatly on the French soldiers, the first in the world in this sort of warfare! From six to seven weeks of battering had scarcely made an impression on the blocks

of rock that formed the outworks of the place; the fosses were not filled up; the walls were standing. During the night of June 27–28, while a large detachment in barks strove to force the entrance of the port, four columns threw themselves into the dry fosse. The cannon and musketry swept away the first ranks; the mines blew up the bottom of the fosse with those who were crossing it; crowds followed in the place of the dead and wounded to avenge them. The ladders were several inches too short: officers and soldiers climbed on each other's shoulders, planted bayonets in the interstices of the stones, and reached the top of the rampart! At daybreak, the English saw with stupefaction the assailants masters of three of the forts. Although the body of the place was intact, the governor determined to capitulate the same day.[1]

The French could scarcely believe in their conquest, on seeing themselves in the midst of all these formidable works, which they could never have scaled in cold blood, by daylight, and without enemies. There was a true intoxication at Paris and throughout France: we had at last worthily replied to the insults of England. Richelieu owed to the valor of our grenadiers a rehabilitation more brilliant than lasting. The true hero of the expedition, La Galissonière, did not enjoy the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen. A prey to an incurable disease, his strength of character had sustained him to the end of the enterprise: he succumbed on his return, and died on the way to Paris. His loss was not repaired.[2]

The joy of France was in proportion to the fury of the English. They had thought that it was only necessary for them to seize their prey, and they saw one of their most precious possessions wrested from them. The popular exasperation was frightful. A victim was needed. The terrified ministers delivered up Admiral Byng, guilty, perhaps, of not having done all that he could, but less guilty in his weakness than they themselves in their negligence. A great suit was commenced against the unhappy admiral, which implicated also the Governor of Gibraltar.

During the siege of Fort St. Philip, the two crowns had at length exchanged declarations of war, very superfluous, and valuable

[1] *Mémoires relatifs à l'expédition de Minorque*, appended to the *Correspondance du maréchal de Richelieu*, t. II. p. 41, *et seq.*; Sainte-Croix, t. II. pp. 252, 444; Smollett, continuation of Hume, b. xxv.; *Mém. de Rochambeau*, t. I. p. 76; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 75.

[2] His humanity equalled his bravery and his ability as an administrator. He had been the first to set the noble example, which was followed by the Bougainvilles, the Cooks, and other illustrious mariners, of propagating in his voyages the vegetables and useful animals of Europe in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. — See L. Guérin, *Hist. maritime de France*, t. II. p. 311.

only as manifestoes addressed to Europe. England had commenced May 17: France had replied June 16.

Both sides waited anxiously for news from Canada, which might bring some compensation to the English. The Anglo-American colonies had made numerous levies: the mother-country had sent a general and new troops. More than twenty thousand men threatened Canada, which had scarcely half as many for its defence, the Island of Cape Breton included. The English were simultaneously to attack Lake George, Niagara, and Fort Duquesne, besides making a diversion against the heart of Canada itself. The French succeeded in securing the neutrality of the Iroquois, the masters of the intermediate country; and, in the month of March, a French party captured a post on the frontier of New York, in which the English had accumulated a large quantity of supplies. This loss retarded them greatly. In the beginning of July, their squadron, in turn, captured a French ship of fifty-six guns, which was carrying a reënforcement to the garrison of Louisburg. This advantage was not followed up. The French general, Montcalm, suddenly took the offensive, embarked on Lake Ontario, and made a descent in front of the English post of Oswego, which commanded the southern shore of the lake, and which was the pivot of the enemy's operations. The three forts of Oswego, defended by eighteen hundred men against three thousand, were forced to capitulate at the expiration of four days, almost in sight of two thousand soldiers that were advancing to succor them (August 14). The garrison was taken, with seven brigs-of-war, two hundred transports, more than a hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, and a great quantity of munitions. The French destroyed the forts, to the lively satisfaction of the Iroquois, the original possessors of the country.

The aggressive campaign of the English had utterly failed, and they were forced to guarantee themselves, if not from a regular attack, at least from the devastating incursions of our Canadian hunters and the *red-skins*, who penetrated to the heart of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The brilliant expedition of Oswego had extricated Canada from a very critical position. A bad harvest, and the breaking-out of the small-pox, which assumed a character of extreme malignity, had diffused such distress, that it would have been impossible to have succeeded in provisioning the garrisons of the frontier posts, had it not been for the supplies captured from the English. The great numbers of the unfortunate immi-

grants from Nova Scotia redoubled the penury. Canada, wholly victorious as it was, was therefore in more need than ever of aid from the mother-country.

In short, the issue of the campaign in America, as in the Mediterranean, was as fortunate as unexpected to France. French diplomacy had obtained other successes in Europe, which the military successes corroborated. For instance, Holland had appeared at first, according to a too deeply rooted custom, to incline to England: the States-General, interrogated by the French ambassador concerning their intentions, had entreated Louis XV., "through consideration for them, not to extend the war to the shores of England and Ireland;" and the English ambassador had, at the same time, claimed the aid of six thousand men, due from the United Provinces by virtue of treaties. The French government replied to the States, that it should regard as an enemy any one who might attempt to prevent it from employing whatever means it chose for its defence; and added that the English, being the aggressors, had no right to claim the benefit of defensive treaties (February–March, 1756). The stadtholder, William IV., had died in 1751; and his wife, the daughter of George II., was administering in the name of her son, William V., under the title of *governess*. The old republican party, headed by the grand-pensionary of Holland, loudly proclaimed itself in favor of peace. The principal towns, seeing the English lay claim to auxiliary troops, and the French content themselves with neutrality, sided with the republicans and the French; and George II. judged it prudent to abandon his demand, for fear of exciting a revolution fatal to his daughter and grandson.

France recompensed the Dutch by some commercial advantages: England punished them by arbitrary seizures of their ships; then, in consequence of the complaints called forth by these acts of violence, she declared "all the ports of France in a state of blockade, and all vessels bound for these ports subject to seizure as lawful prizes" (August, 1756). The principle of a *fictitious blockade* was the overthrow of all maritime rights, of all neutral rights: it was enunciating the code of piracy after having so fully practised it. Such a system was calculated to turn against England the good wishes and perhaps the arms of every nation that had a navy. As early as July, even before the declaration of the *fictitious blockade*, and on the mere rumor of the acts of violence committed by the English against the Dutch, the two Scandinavian

powers had signed a defensive alliance to insure respect to the rights of neutrals, and reparation for the damage done to their navigation.[1]

France responded to the proclamation of the *fictitious blockade* by new progress in the Mediterranean. The eternal Corsican insurrection had commenced anew against the Genoese, this time under the direction of the heroic Pascal Paoli. Genoa greatly desired pecuniary assistance from France. The French government, which knew that the English had not lost sight of Corsica, but were fomenting the insurrection, obliged the Genoese to accept assistance of another kind, and granted them a subsidy of one million two hundred thousand francs a year, only on condition that an indefinite number of French troops were received into the citadels of Calvi, Saint-Fiorenzo, and Ajaccio, for the whole duration of the existing war (August 4, 1756). The French returned to Corsica, November 1, 1756; and France thus found herself mistress, through Toulon, Corsica, and Minorca, of the whole western basin of the Mediterranean.

There was something miraculous in having been able thus to regain the superiority in a contest for which so little preparation had been made, and which had been so badly begun. Providence did not weary of extending a hand to us. In this generous and forgetful nation, the government, that had fallen so low, might yet have retrieved itself, as was attested by the moral effect produced by the conquest of Minorca. The point in question, therefore, was to labor to unite all the maritime nations against the tyrants of the seas; to do every thing, above all, to draw Spain into the conflict; and, whatever might be the success of this, to concentrate all the resources of France against England. The battle of Mahon, and the whole campaign, had shown what the French marine might again become on two conditions: namely, that our principal financial resources were devoted to it; and that the malevolent spirit of the officers of noble birth, who had been promoted from the marine guards, was repressed by severe examples. Brave and well instructed, but imbued with the most insane and culpable prejudices, they disdained the important duty of protecting the merchant-shipping; and some among them carried their ill-will towards officers who had risen from harbor commands, and who were not required to furnish proofs of nobility like the marine

[1] Flassan, t. VI. p. 65; Wenck, t. III. p. 148. The true motive of the English had been to deprive the Dutch of the enormous profits of neutrality, and to prevent them from becoming the factors of the colonies and of French commerce.

guards, as far as treason. An iron hand was needed to stifle these germs of discord and disorder; but Machault was not, perhaps, incapable of this part. It was still possible, by applying our efforts exclusively to France, to regain the fortune that had been allowed to escape in India, and to dispute the empire of the seas and of America.

Precisely the contrary was done. We are about to behold an example of madness, of imbecile treason towards one's self, — a parallel to which scarcely exists in history.

The great interest of France was to maintain peace on the continent in order to have her hands free on the sea. The English government, on its side, appeared to seek for nothing else, in its continental alliances, than auxiliary troops and an eventual protection for Hanover. It was with this aim that it had just renewed its treaties with Russia, and had obtained the promise from the latter of the assistance of fifty-five thousand men if Hanover were attacked (September 30, 1755). It was only necessary, therefore, not to carry the war into Germany. No one was in a position to attack France on the continent. Unfortunately, another power thought it to its interest to rekindle the fire in Europe; namely, Austria. The obstinate Maria Theresa was still bent upon vengeance against the King of Prussia. Irritated at having been constrained to peace by England and Holland in 1748, and not less wounded by the dominion, wholly in conformity with the treaties, but very iniquitous at bottom, exercised by the maritime powers over the Austrian Netherlands,[1] she was greatly disgusted with those *heretical* traders, whose alliance had, nevertheless, been the foundation of her safety. Since 1748, she had lent her ear to a bold and able counsellor, who urged her to change the whole system of European relations. The Count von Kaunitz, still young, was what the Marshal de Richelieu imagined himself to be, — a profound politician under the frivolous exterior of a man of fashion. As early as the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, Kaunitz had opened a correspondence with Madame de Pompadour, and had induced the Empress to authorize him to insinuate to the French plenipotentiary that it would be easy to effect a thorough reconciliation between the Houses of Bourbon and Austria; and that Austria would willingly cede Flanders and Brabant, if France would aid her to retake Silesia. Louis XV. was then too weary of war;

[1] The Dutch held military occupation of them, and, in accordance with England, shut them out from the sea, and rendered commerce and manufactures almost impossible.

and these seductive offers were not welcomed. Maria Theresa was not discouraged. She renewed her overtures at different times to the diplomatic agents from France to Vienna; then, in 1751, she charged Kaunitz with the French embassy. The insinuating ambassador had little difficulty in gaining the good graces of Madame de Pompadour, who bore ill-will to the enemy of Maria Theresa, the King of Prussia, for some satirical speeches on her and her royal lover. Frederick had an author's self-love in suffering none of his *bon-mots* to be lost; and the caustic wit did great harm in him to the politician. Madame de Pompadour had, besides, another reason for inclining towards Maria Theresa; namely, that the Prince de Conti, who had suggested to the King a secret diplomacy, closed to the favorite as to the ministers, was opposed to Austria. The enterprise of Kaunitz was nevertheless premature. Madame de Pompadour had not yet meddled with the foreign policy. At the first mention of it, she found so much opposition among the ministers, — among her own creatures, — that she dared not speak of it to the King. Kaunitz departed in 1753 to take the head of the Austrian cabinet, and was replaced at Versailles by the Count von Stahremberg, commissioned to pursue the same idea, and to await an opportunity.

Stahremberg thought the opportunity come when news was received of the aggressions of the English against the French marine. He formally offered the Austrian alliance to the cabinet of Versailles. A contradictory offer was made at the same time by the Prussian ambassador, Knyphausen. Frederick II. proposed to France to unite with him against England and Austria; the French invading Belgium, and the Prussians Bohemia. This important question was propounded before the council. The Count d'Argenson supported the propositions of the King of Prussia, and maintained, that in the reciprocal disposition of Frederick and Maria Theresa, a continental war being inevitable, the Prussian alliance was worth more than the Austrian. The maintenance of all our diplomatic traditions, and the personal superiority of Frederick over the Austrian generals, left no room for hesitation. He would have been right, had war been inevitable; but it was not so, at least not immediately, as was demonstrated by Machault, who protested against any offensive alliance on the continent. This discussion was at the bottom nothing but the continuation of the rivalry between the ministers of war and the marine, each one advocating the kind of warfare which would give him the preponderance; but Machault defended the public interest in defend-

ing the interest of his ambition. The King wavered. The Prince de Conti exerted a weighty influence on him in one direction: Madame de Pompadour acted as yet only with a certain timidity in the opposite one. Machault prevailed at first, but only partially: that is, an offensive alliance, both with Austria against Prussia, and with Prussia against Austria, was averted, but without renouncing the idea of carrying the war into Hanover, the invasion of which, it was said, would induce King George to capitulate concerning the maritime interests. It was knowing England very little to entertain such a hope. The alliance of Frederick was therefore accepted, but with the proviso that he should second France against England in Hanover, while France did not pledge herself to unite with him against Austria. This was treating him like a *condottiere* in our pay. It was radically absurd. If a great continental war was not desired, Hanover should have been let alone. Here, as almost everywhere, nothing could have been worse than half-way measures.

Austrian perseverance did not belie itself. Before the end of the summer of 1755, Stahremberg returned to the charge, and announced that his court had refused to England the auxiliary troops which she claimed by virtue of treaties. This fact produced a lively impression. About the same time, the pious and chaste Maria Theresa wrote with her own hand to the mistress of Louis XV., calling her *my cousin*, and loading her with flatteries. We can measure by the effort imposed on herself by the proud daughter of the Hapsburgs the depth and violence of her resentment against Frederick. Madame de Pompadour's head was completely turned; and she devoted herself unreservedly to *her friend*, who indemnified her so gloriously for the contempt of the King of Prussia. Maria Theresa had hesitated which to address of the two great influences that disputed the King, — the Prince de Conti or the *Marchioness*. Kaunitz had turned the scale.

Madame de Pompadour found it much easier than she had hoped to broach the affair to the King, if not to conclude it. Louis had not only with respect to Frederick the jealousy of a petty and conceited mind against genius, but the hatred of the bigot against the infidel. The idea of a great Catholic alliance singularly flattered him, and readily effaced from his mind the plans of the Prince de Conti, which he had seemed to adopt through conviction. To quit that system of heretical alliance founded by Richelieu, and to overthrow the Protestant party represented by England and Prussia, appeared to him a work capable of redeeming

all his sins, past and future. Louis XIV., at least, had not revoked the Edict of Nantes until after his *conversion;* but Louis XV. invented for himself another code of morals. He was persuaded that a King who sustained the cause of the Church could not be damned for his private sins. He dreamed of a religious war from the recesses of the Parc-aux-Cerfs![1]

Louis commissioned, not one of his ministers, but an intimate confidant of Madame de Pompadour, to confer secretly with the Austrian ambassador. This was the Abbé de Bernis, an elegant and facile wit, who had attained to high posts through well-turned verses and boudoir successes, and who, after at first opposing through good sense the Austrian inclination of his protectress, served this inclination through complaisance and ambition. The policy of Europe was discussed between Bernis, Stahremberg, and Madame de Pompadour, in a pleasure-house of the Marchioness, called Babiole[2] (the Bauble); a name well chosen for the scene of this intrigue, where the vanity of a courtezan disposed of the fate of Europe! (September 22, 1755.)

Contrary to her custom, Austria acted frankly. Stahremberg gave at once the ultimatum of his sovereign. It was a vast and daring plan. Europe was to be reconstructed. Austria was to recover the Duchy of Parma, and to cede Belgium in exchange to the Infant, Don Philip, with the exception of the town of Mons, which was ceded to France. Luxemburg, the *Gibraltar of Belgium*, was to be dismantled. The crown of Poland (conformably to the plan of the Marquis d'Argenson) was to be rendered hereditary in the House of Saxony, while maintaining the Polish liberties in all other respects. Austria was to recover Silesia. Pomerania was to be restored to Sweden. Austria was forever to renounce the English alliance. France, having a first-class power for an ally, would no longer find it necessary to exhaust her finances to keep petty States, covetous and insecure auxiliaries, in her pay; and would have nothing more to fear on the continent. France,

[1] Saint-Priest, *Études historiques sur le dix-huitième siècle; De la Destruction des Jésuites*, from the papers of the Duke de Choiseul; Duclos, *Mém. secrets*, ap. *Collect. Michaud et Poujoulat*, 3d series, t. X. p. 635. Duclos, the intimate friend of the Cardinal de Bernis, and historiographer of France, was well acquainted with all this negotiation. Soulavie, *Mémoires de Richelieu*, t. IX. p. 70.

[2] Babiole was situated below the beautiful residence of Madame de Pompadour, on the eminence of Bellevue. The Cardinal de Brienne, the minister of Louis XVI., confirms Duclos' testimony concerning every thing with respect to Bernis. — See his *Notice sur Bernis*, appended to the *Mémoires* of Madame du Hausset.

Austria, and Spain, leagued together, would dictate the law to Europe.

Bernis, dismayed at the responsibility that weighed upon him, himself entreated the King to communicate these specious and dangerous propositions to the council. The whole council was not convoked: the Count d'Argenson was excluded, as the partisan of Prussia, with other ministers of State (October, 1755). Expurgated as it was, the council recoiled before this diplomatic revolution. Machault had not changed his opinion, and the King relapsed into indecision before the objections of the ministers. A dilatory answer was made: then Bernis, returning to his first sentiments, caused a simple treaty of guarantee between France, Austria, and Prussia, for their European possessions, to be sent to the Empress as a counter plan, the existing war being excepted from the defensive project. France was to remain free to act against Hanover. An ambassador was sent to Frederick to induce him to accede to this plan.

This was very good, but as far as possible from the views of Maria Theresa. She was greatly dissatisfied; but she was determined not to be rebuffed. She suffered herself, it is said, to be persuaded by degrees not to reject this compact, at least as a starting-point: she saw in it a guarantee against a Franco-Prussian attack, and was sure that Frederick would furnish her some pretext for breaking off the engagement concerning him. Duclos asserts that an order was about to be given to Stahremberg to sign the agreement, when important news effected a fatal change in every thing.

The King of England, abandoned by Austria, had understood the necessity of forgetting his resentment against his nephew of Prussia, who had formerly accused him of *deserving the galleys*.[1] George II. had proposed to Frederick, through the medium of the Duke of Brunswick, a defensive compact for the peace of Germany, or, in other terms, for the protection of Hanover. Frederick found himself in great perplexity. He had been unable to obtain the offensive alliance of France against Austria, an alliance which would have given him fine opportunities. If he accepted the propositions of the cabinet of Versailles, he rendered himself its instrument against Hanover, gained nothing thereby, and risked having Austria and Russia on his hands: by accepting the offers of England, there was a chance that the French would forbear to

[1] See *ante*, p. 313. Frederick, by way of compensation, in his History of the Seven-Years' War, gravely eulogizes the *heroic virtues* of his uncle.

attack Hanover; and, in any case, he believed himself guaranteed against Russia, which, allied to England, would not attack the ally of the latter; and, Russia becoming friendly, Austria would not probably dare to seek a quarrel with him. He did not doubt that Russia, between her two allies, Austria and England, would prefer the one that paid. He decided: January 19, 1756, the Prussian agent at London signed a defensive treaty with the ministers of George II., as the Elector of Hanover, against "any foreign power that might introduce troops into Germany."[1] Frederick did not seek to make this engagement a secret to France, and protested against all idea of hostility. He only wished, he said, to preserve Germany from war.[2]

Frederick spoke the truth; but Louis XV. was as much offended at his defection as if the Elector of Brandenburg had been the rebellious vassal of the King of France. This degraded soul blended two contradictory vices, — pride and cowardly thoughtlessness. The court of Vienna seized the occasion. It declared that the projected treaty presented by France was no longer possible, and demanded a defensive compact against the King of Prussia. The King and Madame de Pompadour no longer thought this sufficient, and, in their warlike ardor, desired an offensive alliance! Bernis moderated them, and, commissioned by the King to draw up the conditions, persuaded him, this time, to consult the whole council. D'Argenson and Machault again disputed the ground, inch by inch, in the council: they succumbed, and the fatal treaty of Versailles was signed May 1, 1756.

It consisted of two separate agreements: 1st, The Empress-Queen pledged herself to neutrality in the existing differences between France and England; 2d, The Empress-Queen and the King of France guaranteed to each other their possessions in Europe, and promised a mutual aid of twenty-four thousand men against all aggressors. The existing war against England was excepted by Austria: France claimed no exception, not even in the event of war between Austria and Turkey; an exception which England had been wise enough to make in her treaties with Austria. This

[1] Wenck, *Codex Juris gentium*, t. III. p. 84. It is expressly stipulated that Germany alone is in question, and not the Austrian Netherlands.

[2] M. Capefigue, in his volume on Madame de Pompadour, cites an offensive compact of Frederick with England against France, as having rendered necessary the Austrian alliance of 1756. The treaty from which he gives an extract is not, as he affirms, that of January, 1756, but an agreement of January 11, 1757, the effect and not the cause of the deplorable treaty of France with Austria. — See Garden, *Hist. des Traités de paix*, t. IV. p. 30.

omission, if not repaired, was the annihilation of all our policy and all our influence in the Levant. As to the immediate meaning of the treaty, it consisted in this: that Austria only pledged herself not to assist England against France, and that France pledged herself to assist Austria with twenty-four thousand men against Prussia, in case of need. By secret articles, however, the pledge of assistance became reciprocal, if, by occasion of the existing war, other powers than England should attack the European possessions either of France or Austria. It was agreed to invite the Emperor, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Kings of Spain and Naples, and the Duke of Parma, to accede to the treaty. The parties were to act in concert in all contingencies not foreseen at Aix-la-Chapelle, especially "concerning whatever regarded the repose of Italy." This pledged France much farther: in the idea of Austria, however, it was only a first step. The national and traditional policy of France, which had been for the first time systematically overthrown by the Cardinal Dubois, and which the Chauvelins, the D'Argensons, and the Contis, had sought to revive, was about to be blindly subverted a second time by Madame de Pompadour, and with consequences far more disastrous.[1]

The Prince de Conti, without whose knowledge the whole negotiation had been conducted, understood that his system was at an end,[2] and that the treaty of Versailles, rigorously tenable in the existing terms, would be only a starting-point. He returned to the King's hands the superintendence of the secret correspondence, and ceased all participation in public affairs. The fruit of ten years of labor was utterly lost just as Turkey and Sweden had been won over to the true French policy, and our influence had regained the ascendency in the Polish diets. The secret diplomacy did not disappear with the man who had organized it: these mysterious proceedings were too well suited to the distrustful and dissimulating mind of Louis XV.; and, strange to say, this secrecy, which seemed fitted to cover nothing but contemptible intrigues, continued to shelter honorable designs. The two Broglies, uncle and nephew, succeeded to Conti's views as to his office; but their intentions were as powerless as his. Louis XV., fully warned by enlightened and sincere agents, bears the respon-

[1] See the treaty in Wenck, t. III. p. 141; and Garden, *Hist. des traités de paix*, t. IV. p. 19; Frederick II., *Hist. de la guerre de Sept Ans*, t. I. c. iii.; Coxe, *Hist. de la maison d'Autriche*, c. cx.

[2] See *ante*, p 408; and Ségur, *Politique de l'Europe*, t. I. p. 61.

siblity before history of having done wrong, or suffered it to be done, with full knowledge of the case.

The treaty of Versailles was not long in bearing its first-fruits. Austria, sure of France, had labored with the same success to win Russia. Frederick had been mistaken in his calculations. Austria, too poor to offer subsidies and to keep Russia in her pay, was rich enough to buy the Russian ministers; and Maria Theresa employed a still more effective weapon. Frederick had not spared the Czarina any more than Louis XV. and his mistress; and the court of Vienna had caused the sarcasms which he had let fall concerning the numerous amours of her Muscovite Majesty to reach the ears of Elizabeth. The Prussian monarch, however, should have been silent on the point of morals. The Czarina was incensed to such a degree, that the mere fact of an alliance between England and Prussia sufficed to make her break off her engagements with England. She concluded a secret treaty with Austria and Saxony for the partition of Prussia. The biting tongue of Frederick had also alienated Saxony from him by offending the Count de Brühl, the favorite of Augustus III. Never had a greater war more paltry motives. The treaty against Prussia was only contingent in the event that Frederick should give rise to hostilities; but the court of Vienna relied on finding means to transform this contingency into fact.

The treaty of France and Austria had been rendered public. Frederick detected the secret of the other compact by corrupting a clerk of the cabinet of Saxony. It was now evident to him that Austrian diplomacy would attain its ends, and precipitate upon him in the coming spring, under some pretext, a formidable coalition. He examined the situation with a firm glance. His enemies were not ready. Austria alone, which had greatly improved its finances and military status since 1748, and which had already more than sixty thousand soldiers assembled in Bohemia, was able to take the field. Russia would not be in a condition to act before the spring of 1757. Saxony, ruled by frivolous luxury and improvidence, needed six months at least to put itself on a war-footing. Frederick, on his side, was ready. The population of his States had more than doubled since his accession, thanks to his conquests and to the improvements which Prussia owed to him;[1] his finances were in a good condition; his army

[1] Frederick had encouraged agriculture and manufactures, reformed the laws by a code designed to throw light upon and abridge legal proceedings, and, above all,

was complete, and improved, as to tactics, by the exercises of a laborious peace.[1] He judged, that, with the extreme inequality of the forces, he had but a single chance of safety; namely, to be the first to strike, to choose the theatre of war, and to reduce the resources of his enemies as much as possible by the vigor of his first blows. He did not hesitate as to the point of attack: it could be nowhere but Saxony, the strategical and geographical centre of Germany, which would cover Brandenburg, and open Bohemia. He began by plainly demanding of Maria Theresa the assurance that he would not be attacked by her or her allies that year or the year following. The Empress-Queen refused to give this promise. On the negative answer of Vienna, Frederick entered Saxony with more than sixty thousand Prussians: Field-Marshal Schwerin entered Bohemia by the way of Königgrätz with thirty thousand more (the end of August).

The Elector-King, Augustus III., threw himself into the intrenched camp at Pirna, between Dresden and the frontier of Bohemia, with about seventeen thousand men, who composed, at that moment, his whole army. This camp was a kind of great natural fortress, more than thirty miles in circumference, surrounded by the Elbe, ledges of rocks, and marshy ravines. Frederick, the master of Dresden without striking a blow, ordered forty thousand troops to besiege the camp of Pirna, and with the rest of his forces marched into Bohemia to meet Field-Marshal Braun, who was advancing at the head of the principal Austrian army corps to liberate the Saxons: another Austrian corps confronted Schwerin. Frederick, greatly inferior in numbers, attacked Braun, October 1, at Lobositz, forced him back beyond the Eger, and commissioned one of his lieutenants to hold him in check; then hastened to rejoin the army that was besieging Pirna. Braun, nevertheless, effected an entrance into Saxony with a strong detachment by the right bank of the Elbe. The Saxons issued from the camp of Pirna, and endeavored to cut their way to the Austrians; but their leaders were so little acquainted with their own country, that they strayed into defiles where the Prussians took them as if in a snare. Fifteen thousand men laid down their arms, and were

reformed the extreme corruption of the Prussian magistracy. — See *Hist. de la guerre de Sept Ans*, t. I. ch. i.

[1] He had nearly one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers to a population of five million souls; a proportion which would give more than a million soldiers to France at the present day. The low price of commodities, and the extreme economy of the Prussian government, alone can explain how this little State lived and prospered under so enormous a burden.

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incorporated into the Prussian army, according to the hazardous custom of Frederick (October 18). No other terms were granted to King Augustus than liberty to retire to Poland, where he obtained no assistance from the Polish Diet, which was unwilling to interfere in the war of Germany. The Austrians withdrew, and Frederick took up his winter-quarters on the confines of Saxony and Bohemia.[1]

At the moment when Frederick gloriously opened the continental war, a change, very happy for him and very threatening to France, was effected in England.

Hitherto, England had found an insufficient instrument for her ambition and hatreds in her government. Public opinion, both in the mother-country and in the colonies, seconded by a very influential prince of the blood, the Duke of Cumberland, had determined on the war; but the ministry had not known how to direct it. The same contrast as in France, although in a less degree, was manifested between the government and the nation. Effeminacy, tameness, and careless selfishness, were found everywhere in the administration, even among the leaders of the army and the fleet. Of the two brothers Pelham, the heads of the cabinet in 1748, the more capable, Henry, was dead; and the other, the Duke of Newcastle, as well as the rest of the members of the ministry, were inferior to the nation and the situation.

But England had means, in which France was lacking, to impose her men and her wishes on the government. The man whom she needed she possessed and recognized: it was the orator whose thundering eloquence had formerly overthrown Walpole, and who had since ruled the parliament, and had been many times on the verge of the power which the personal antipathy of George II. had not permitted him fully to seize. The King was at last constrained to yield to the torrent of public opinion, and to submit to the tribune whose exclusive patriotism had so often rudely shocked the German tastes of the House of Hanover. William Pitt received, or rather took forcible possession of, the ministry in October, 1756.

Between Walpole and Pitt there seemed the distance of centuries. These two men appeared to belong to different worlds. It was the civism of the antique republics after parliamentary corruption. No one in modern ages has as yet, to such a degree, resembled antiquity both in form and in substance; not, however, entire

[1] Frederick II., *Hist. de la guerre de Sept Ans*, t. I. ch. iv. — See, concerning this campaign, the criticisms of Napoleon, in his *Mémoires*, t. VII. p. 161, 2d edition.

antiquity, not philosophical antiquity, but political antiquity. Virtue, in William Pitt, was not the philosophical virtue of Epictetus and Aristides any more than Christian virtue. He would not have been called the *Just*. His was the virtue of the Roman conquerors,— devotion to his country; the greatness of his country pursued by all means, without reservation either of the rights of foreigners or of those of humanity. *Hospes hostis!* The famous saying that is attributed to him, whether authentic or not, clearly sums up his idea: "If we were just to the French, we should not exist thirty years longer."[1]

He had seen the maritime and colonial uprising of the French nation, and had comprehended, that, if France should join to her indestructible continental resources the preponderance in America and India, England would relapse into the rank of second-rate powers. He hated France as the Romans hated Carthage, and his accession was the signal for war to the death.

The conflict between a government directed by such a man and the government of Louis XV. was, in reality, the conflict between an aristocratic republic and an absolute monarchy; and the latter government is much weaker and less persevering than the other, even when it is not in its decline. The conflict had already assumed the same character at the close of the reign of Louis XIV., and the Great King had succumbed. Where Cyrus had failed, what could Sardanapalus do? William Pitt before Louis XV. was a Roman consul before an effeminate monarch of the East!

Under this iron hand, England changed aspect in a few months. Pitt had blushed for his country at the shameful terror expressed by the English nation as soon as it thought itself menaced in its island by a few thousand soldiers. He wished to inure England to war, both against the danger and the fear of a descent: by the institution of a militia, he restored arms to this people, who had forgotten their use. A handful of half-savage insurgents had lately been near subjugating England, who had avenged herself on them with the ferocity of offended pride: by reparative measures, William Pitt reconciled to his government the remnants of the Scotch Highlanders, and sent two or three thousand of these intrepid men to swell the Anglo-American forces opposed to Canada. Squadrons were sent out in all directions. Parliament voted an appropriation for fifty-five thousand men for the naval service, and for nearly fifty thousand for the land service, and

[1] Raynal, *Hist. philosophique des deux Indes*, t. IV. liv. ii.

granted a tax of £8,000,000 for the year 1757. The civil and military posts were expurgated with inflexible rigor. A bloody example was made, to place the leaders of the English armies between victory and death. Admiral Byng, condemned to death by a court-martial for not having done all that he could to save Minorca, but recommended by his judges to the clemency of the King, was pitilessly shot (March 14, 1757). Voltaire, who was beginning to attribute to himself on all occasions the official character of the defender of humanity which was to do honor to his old age, had appealed in vain to the public opinion of Europe, and even to the testimony of the French captains who had fought against Byng. This coldly calculated punishment is marked with a much more cruel character than those executions of generals after the French Revolution, justly censured, and explained by the passions and mortal suspicions of that terrible epoch. Byng, on his side, had been in no wise suspected of treason.[1]

The government of Louis XV. was, later, to imitate Pitt in his cruelty, but not in his genius. At present, on the contrary, it left officers unpunished far more criminal than Byng. We have already spoken of the arrogant disdain of the sailors of noble birth for the port officers or *officiers bleus*. In a battle fought off the coast of the Island of Cape Breton, in July, 1756, the captain of a ship and the captain of a frigate had abandoned their commodore, who, attacked by two English ships stronger than his own, would have succumbed, had it not been for the aid of another frigate. The only motive for this cowardly treachery was that the commodore was a *plebeian*. The frigate captain did not await a trial: unable to resist his remorse and the contempt of honorable men, he hung himself. The other officer was acquitted by a council of war, whom the spirit of fraternity rendered unfaithful to all its duties. Events less infamous, but still very culpable, transpired on the coasts of France and in the West Indies, which may be summed up in the extreme negligence of the officers of noble birth in protecting the merchant convoys intrusted to them. The little value that they set on a mission which they esteemed beneath them had cost France dear: in 1756, two hundred merchant-ships and barks had been captured by the English.[2]

The only statesman who had firmness enough to reëstablish order, and repress this detestable spirit, had already quitted public

[1] See *Lord Chatham*, by M. de Viel-Castel, ap. *Révue des deux Mondes*, fourteenth year, new series, t. V. pp. 717–808; 1844.

[2] *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. pp. 87–93.

affairs. Machault had been overthrown by a court intrigue; and, to speak truly, there was no longer any administration of the marine among us.

While the first politicians of the epoch, William Pitt and Frederick the Great, united for a desperate struggle against France, Louis XV., his court, and his council, occupied themselves less with foreign war than with intestine quarrels worthy of the Lower Empire.

The government had vainly renounced the financial reforms proposed by Machault, in order to put an end to the strife of the *certificates of confession.* The most ardent portion of the clergy, led by the Archbishop of Paris, had considered the agreement concluded between the ministry and the Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, the president of the assembly of the clergy, as a kind of simony. This agreement had not been respected for a moment; and the refusals of the sacraments, and consequently the decrees of the parliaments, had begun anew as early as the autumn of 1754. The court, this time, took part against the churchmen; and several prelates, including the Archbishop of Paris himself, were exiled to their country-houses. The parliament of Paris inflicted a less benign exile on a curé and some parish priests, whom it condemned, as seditious persons, to perpetual banishment. It attempted to push its advantage, and to take the offensive against the Bull *Unigenitus.* A decree of March 18, 1755, appealing to the parliament from the ecclesiastical court, as having exceeded its jurisdiction with respect to the execution of the Bull, "especially in so far as any ecclesiastics pretend to attribute to it the character of a rule of faith," was received by the attorney-general. The council, as was to be expected, quashed the decree of the parliament, which continued its contention with the Sorbonne and with the assembly of the clergy, convened from May to October, 1755.[1] The death of the fanatical Boyer, the holder of the list of benefices (August 20, 1755), somewhat appeased the strife of the certificates of confession: this species of ministry of ecclesiastical affairs passed into the hands of the Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld, a man of a conciliatory spirit, and opposed to scandal; and violence ceased to be a recommendation to benefices: thenceforth there were fewer violent men in the clergy.

The Archbishop of Paris, however, and the vehement and sincere portion of the Molinist party, did not capitulate. A new

[1] This assembly at least kept its word to the government as to the pecuniary question, and granted it a gratuity of fifteen millions.

diversion, moreover, occurred to cause the suspension of the strife of the certificates of confession, and to avenge the clergy on the parliament by putting the magistracy at variance with the court. In consequence of a conflict of jurisdiction between the parliament of Paris and the great council, that singular tribunal whose powers were simply exceptional, and which had neither province nor jurisdiction, a royal declaration ordered that the decrees of the great council should be executive with respect to the inferior tribunals throughout the kingdom, as were those of the parliaments in their jurisdictions (October 10, 1755). All the parliaments addressed warm remonstrances to the King against this invasion of their prerogatives. The great council and the parliaments waged a warfare of decrees several months; the majority of the inferior tribunals refused to register the decrees of the great council: some bailiwicks having received them, the parliament of Paris caused them to be stricken from their registers. February 18, 1756, it convoked the princes of the blood and the peers to take their places in its midst, "to devise means of maintaining the hierarchic order and the police of the kingdom against the indecent enterprises of the great council." The King forbade the princes and the peers to repair to the Palais: they obeyed, but presented to Louis XV., through the Duke of Orleans, a protest in the form of a petition. The Duke of Orleans, the grandson of the Regent, a man of pleasure and of inconsistent character, affected philosophical and innovating tendencies, in imitation of the Prince de Conti.[1] Louis XV. threw the petition into the fire.

The ferment was not less violent among the provincial magistracy. The parliaments of Rouen and Bordeaux, above all, obstinately resisted the King: several of their members were exiled, and they suspended the course of justice. The parliament of Paris made earnest efforts in their favor. It showed itself more and more animated: its struggle with the great council did not divert it from its other enemies. A decree of May 18, 1756, quashed the decree of the Sorbonne, which, in 1729, had received the Bull *Unigenitus*, and instituted a formula which candidates for the degrees were forced to sign. The decree of the parliament was, as usual, quashed by the council of State. Ere long, the question of taxes gave rise to still warmer discussions. As early as 1755,

[1] During the interval, he caused his son, who was afterwards *Philippe Égalité*, and his three daughters, to be inoculated with the small-pox by the celebrated physician, Tronchin, of Geneva.

despite the increase of the indirect taxes[1] and the recent institution of the *twentieth*, it had been necessary to make use of all kinds of expedients to provide for the preparations for war. Very large sums had been attracted to the coffers of the State, under the title of securities, by different renewals of leases outside of the general farms,[2] and by the reconstruction of the system of the farms. The number of farmers-general had been increased from forty to sixty by abolishing the under-farms, in order to compel the company to increase their security forty millions (these securities were, in fact, a sort of loan at four per cent). A lottery had been created with a capital of thirty-two millions, bearing three million eight hundred thousand francs interest a year during twelve years. By all these means, an extraordinary fund of one hundred and six millions had been procured, without counting the fifteen millions of the clergy. This fund was consumed, and it was no longer possible to have recourse to the same proceedings; and an increase of the taxes again became necessary. The villain-tax and the capitation-tax were increased four millions; and it was determined to present for registration a number of edicts for the raising of extraordinary taxes (July 7, 1756): these were a second twentieth in addition to the first of Machault, which second twentieth was to cease on the recurrence of peace; the prolongation, for ten years, of the two sous per livre on the ancient income tithe of 1746, which had survived the original tax, and which was given as a guarantee for the emission of one million eight hundred thousand francs of *rentes;* the prolongation of divers temporary duties and taxes which were approaching their expiration; the establishment of a new duty, valued at three millions a year, on the wood and coal consumed in Paris, which was alienated for seven years; and the exaction from the towns of a gratuity for six years, payable by means of a new *octroi*, to which all persons were to be subject without distinction.[3]

[1] The lease of the farms had just been raised to one hundred and ten millions. It had more than doubled since the Regency: in 1718, it yielded only forty-eight million five hundred thousand francs.

[2] The mails, which yielded more than six millions a year; the paulette (an annual duty paid by the magistrates), more than two millions; the bank of Sceaux and Poissi, established in 1744, and renewed for twelve years in 1755, in consideration of fifteen millions in ready money, etc.—See *Collection de comptes rendus concernant les finances de* 1758 à 1787; Lausanne, 1788, 4to, pp. 19–23.

[3] *Comptes rendus concernant les finances de la France de* 1758 à 1787; *état des finances en* 1758; Lausanne, 1788, 4to.—Bailli, *Hist. financière de la France*, t. II. p. 136. The ecclesiastics, nevertheless, obtained an exemption from this *octroi* for the products of their benefices destined for their consumption.

The parliament presented remonstrance after remonstrance instead of registering these edicts. The King, compelled to act authoritatively, summoned the parliament to Versailles for a bed of justice (August 21, 1756). The registration took place in silence: the parliament had resolved in advance not to give an opinion, in order not to sanction this act of *plenary power* by the semblance of deliberation. On the very next day but one, it began again to protest, and was seconded not only by the provincial parliaments, which refused to make the registration, but by the other superior courts at Paris, the chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, who made the registration only by the express command of the King, and under protest. The remonstrances of all these courts are very remarkable: the free and sharp tone, the eloquence devoid of all pedantry, if not of all declamation, show men that had read the *Spirit of Laws*, and had profited by it in the traditional point of view. They unsparingly attack the *pernicious design* of establishing *arbitrary government*, and continually appeal from it to fundamental and immutable laws, and to hallowed and necessary forms; they treat the decrees of the council as acts which are worthy of respect in nothing but the august name with which they have been invested by mistake. "What citizen," they exclaim, "can henceforth resolve to enter the magistracy? None but slaves are required there!" The parliament of Paris advances the principle that all the parliaments of France are only the same body, simply divided into *classes;* or, in other terms, that there is but a single parliament, of which the princes and the peers are members, and of which the superior courts are only extensions, and, so to speak, colonies.[1]

The appearance of the *system of classes* greatly excited the court: it savored of the Fronde, and this great confederation of the magistracy might go very far. Nevertheless, in fact, the immediate consequences of the parliamentary demonstrations were not what the court had to fear. However suffering and disaffected were the people, they did not attempt to evade the payment of the

[1] See the remonstrances of the parliaments of Rouen, Paris, and Toulouse, in the *Mercure historique et politique*, the Hague, t. CXLI. pp. 184, 467, 603. All speak with the same vehemence of the misery of the people, and their condition, "a thousand times more intolerable than that of the slaves of America." — *Ibid.* p. 607. The parliament of Toulouse strongly attacks the obligation to road labor (the *corvée*) in particular, which, it said, was consummating the ruin of agriculture. Languedoc proper had redeemed itself from this, meanwhile. At the same time, the parliament of Toulouse protests against the levy of the *twentieths* on the lands of the nobles, as destructive of feudal right. — *Ibid.* t. CXLII. p. 47.

taxes which, they were told, were needed to oppose the English. The conquest of Mahon had much to do with their docility. If they were not disobedient, the provinces were none the less agitated; and the violence of a part of the clergy kept up the ferment at Paris and in a number of the dioceses. The Archbishop of Paris had issued a mandate from his exile at Conflans, in which he excommunicated the judges who might give decrees to constrain the ministers of the Church with respect to the sacraments, and, with the judges, the priests who might obey the judges, the believers who might read the extracts from the registers of the parliament, etc. A score of bishops imitated the fiery Beaumont. The parliament burned the mandates, and the King exiled several prelates, this time, beyond their dioceses. Pope Benedict XIV., to whom the assembly of the clergy had referred the matter, with the King's consent, attempted, meanwhile, to restore peace to the Church of France by a brief, in which he exhorted the bishops to refuse the sacraments only to persons *notoriously refractory* (October 16, 1756). This conciliatory intervention on the part of the Holy See is somewhat worthy of notice; but it must be remembered that it came from a pope who corresponded with Voltaire and Frederick II. As too often happens, the peacemaker was ungraciously received by both parties: the Molinist fanatics accused him of Jansenism; and the parliament, laying more stress on the form than the intention of the interference, set aside his brief, although the King himself had transmitted it to the bishops.

The King, whom all this noise disturbed in his pleasures, was half impatient, half terrified. He felt the worn springs of the monarchy giving way under these continual shocks. "These great lawyers and the clergy," he said one day to Madame de Pompadour, "distress me with their quarrels; but I detest the lawyers much more of the two: my clergy, at the bottom, are attached and faithful to me; the others wish to hold me in tutelage. The Regent was very wrong in restoring them the right of remonstrance: they will end by destroying the State. . . . They are an assembly of republicans!" The conclusion was characteristic, and worthy of the speaker: "Well, well, enough of this: things as they are will last as long as I!"[1]

The King and the father were on a par with each other in Louis XV!

He decided, however, on a great stroke, through spite rather than through serious resolution. December 13, 1756, he carried two

[1] *Mém. de madame du Hausset* (an ear-witness), p. 72.

declarations to the parliament in a bed of justice. The first, concerning the affairs of the Church, sought to establish a medium between the two parties: the Bull *Unigenitus* was to be respected, although it was not a *rule of faith*. The *silence* prescribed by the prior declarations was not to be prejudicial to the right possessed by the bishops to teach the ecclesiastics and the people; but the bishops were to avoid every thing that could disturb the public tranquillity. All civil cases concerning the refusal of the sacraments were to be carried before the judges of the Church: the royal courts and judges could not order the sacraments to be administered, but could only prosecute the ecclesiastics that had refused the sacraments to others than persons publicly and notoriously refractory. All that had been done with respect to the late troubles was to be buried in oblivion: all decrees, sentences, and judgments, etc., were annulled. The second declaration exclusively attributed to the great chamber of the parliament all that concerned the general police in civil and ecclesiastical matters, unless the great chamber itself should decide to assemble the chambers. The parliament was to present its remonstrances to the edicts sent to it within a fortnight, and to register them on the day after the King's answer to the remonstrances. The counsellors were not thenceforth to have the right of deliberating without voting in the assembly of the chambers until after ten years' service. It was expressly interdicted to the members of the parliament to suspend their functions, under penalty of removal from office. Lastly, a royal edict abolished two of the chambers of inquiries, and more than sixty counsellorships.

The members of the chambers of inquiries and requests sent in their resignation in a body on the same day, declaring that, degraded, and deprived of their most essential functions, it had become impossible for them to serve the King. Half of the great chamber followed this example: a score of magistrates alone, out of two hundred, retained their office. The spontaneous dissolution of the parliament produced an extraordinary effect. Abuse of Madame de Pompadour was heard in the streets, mingled with outcries against the *tyrant of the French*. Foreigners, who had been for some years observing our internal crises, were led to believe in the imminence of the revolution already foreseen. These presentiments were premature. There were philosophic sects in France; there were as yet no political parties. The parliaments were centres of opposition, and not of revolution; the multitude, discontented and unhappy, clung as yet to no hope, no idea

of the future: from the confused irritation there arose, not a great popular movement, but an act of individual anger and folly.[1]

On the evening of January 5, 1757, as the King was descending the steps of the *marble court* on his way from Versailles to Trianon, a man glided between the guards, and struck him a blow in the side. Louis put his hand to the place, and withdrew it stained with blood. With much presence of mind, he recognized the assassin by the fact that he alone wore his hat; and ordered him to be seized, forbidding any harm to be done him. No other weapon was found on the man than a knife with two blades, the smaller of which was only a kind of penknife. It was with this that he had struck the blow; and, owing to the thick frock-coat[2] in which the King was wrapped, the point had penetrated only one-third of an inch.

Fear came to Louis with reflection. For this *pin-prick*, as Voltaire calls it, he ordered himself to be carried away and put to bed, sent for the nearest confessor, caused absolution to be given him again and again five or six times, summoned the Dauphin, charged him to preside over the councils, and comported himself like a man mortally wounded. Indeed, the suspicion that the weapon might have been poisoned had crossed his mind.

Meanwhile the court was in commotion; the courtiers thronged round the Dauphin; and the house of Madame de Pompadour was left empty. Even after they were reassured concerning the life of the King, they expected a renewal of the scenes of Metz in 1744; and Machault came the next morning to insinuate to the Marchioness that it was the King's intention that she should quit the court. Machault was very weary of the yoke of his protectress, and did not believe that gratitude ought eternally to bind him to the chariot-wheels of a favorite who was ruining the State. Overwhelmed at first with despair, then reanimated by the counsels of a female friend, Madame de Pompadour protracted her departure, thinking that to gain time was to gain every thing.

Versailles intrigued: Paris and France were stupefied. Such an action was so remote from the manners of the age! Men thought themselves dreaming, on witnessing the return of the days of Jacques Clement and Ravaillac. Parliamentarians and

[1] See *Mercure hist. et politiq.* t. CXLII. p. 62; Soulavie, t. VIII. p. 347.

[2] This outside garment had been recently imported from England, as its true name *reading-coat* (*redingote*) signifies, to replace the cloak.

churchmen eagerly threw the responsibility on each other. There was a reaction in favor of the King: it was believed for a moment that he was still beloved. The members of the parliament of Paris who had resigned offered to resume their functions to avenge the King's person. The parliaments of the provinces, the States of Brittany, still in opposition to the court, hastened to send protestations of devotion to Louis. The King, after passing several days in bed without the slightest appearance of fever, at last decided to rise, and attend to business. He did not accept the offers of the resigned parliamentarians; referred the trial of the assassin to the great chamber, that is, to those of the members who had not followed their colleagues; and, persevering in his resentment, exiled sixteen of the members of the parliament who had proffered their resignation.

Infinite investigations were made concerning the antecedents and relatives of the assassin: he was subjected to the cruelest and most repeated torture: a rack, invented by the diabolical imagination of the pontifical inquisitors, was even brought from Avignon. The result of all these proceedings was, that this man, named Damiens, had no accomplices, and was not, to speak truly, an assassin. He was a lackey out of place, a man of disordered brain, who had been frenzied by the speeches to which he had listened in the great hall of the palace, or in the ante-chambers of some of the parliamentary counsellors and bigoted Jansenists. He had not wished to kill the King, but only to *give him a warning*, in order that he might cease persecuting the parliament, and punish the archbishop, *the cause of all the evil.* He should have been sent to the Bicêtre: he was condemned to the terrible punishment which Ravaillac had endured. His flesh was torn with red-hot pincers, and melted lead was poured into the wounds, after which he was quartered by four horses (March 28, 1757). The wives of the great nobles and the financiers thought to pay their court by imitating the manners of the times of Catherine de Medici, and outbidding each other for the windows of the Grève in order to witness the reappearance of these horrors. Louis, who at least did not add cruelty to his other vices, would have been disgusted by them.

The judges added to this barbarity a detestable act of iniquity: they condemned to perpetual punishment the innocent family of Damiens, his father, wife, and child, with the penalty of death if they returned to France. The King, in truth, granted them a pension.[1]

[1] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. 37; *Hist. du Parlement de Paris*, ch. 67; Soulavie,

A cabinet revolution followed the King's *recovery*. Habit had speedily brought back the King to Madame de Pompadour: become more powerful than ever, she avenged herself first on an unfaithful friend, then on an inveterate enemy. The King, humiliated at the weakness which he had revealed to Machault, had little hesitation in sacrificing this minister. The fall of one of the authors of the recall of Dupleix was a great calamity to France: no more need be said concerning the abyss into which the government was plunging. Madame de Pompadour, satisfied with this victory, would have consented to a reconciliation with the Count d'Argenson. She made him advances, which he received with imprudent haughtiness; then sent him to rejoin Machault. The King abandoned D'Argenson either because he had shown too much eagerness towards the Dauphin on the day of the attempted assassination, or because of a letter intercepted, and perhaps forged, by Madame de Pompadour, in which he spoke disrespectfully of Louis (February 1, 1757). The ministries of war and the marine were transferred to pitiable ciphers; and the instability became such in the marine and the finances, that we can scarcely remember the names of the obscure personages whom intrigue and caprice called by turns for a few months to a shadow of power. The marine fell, in 1758, to an ex-lieutenant of police, Berryer, who was reputed to have learned the interests of the State by purveying for the Parc-aux-Cerfs, and by spying, and distributing *lettres de cachet* in behalf of Madame de Pompadour.[1] Madame de Pompadour reigned and governed: she was the only adversary opposed by the French government to Frederick and William Pitt. The wit whom she had just made minister of State through gratitude to him for having remained faithful to her during the crisis, and whom she speedily made minister of foreign affairs (June, 1757), — the Abbé de Bernis, — might have given her useful advice; but she desired an instrument, and not a counsellor, as Bernis was not long in experiencing.

The benefit of the popular revolution was already lost by the King. Louis had not known how to seize the first moment of emotion to satisfy public opinion and compound with the parliament; neither did he know how to hold out rigorously to the end: so that he had neither the advantage of gentleness nor of

t. VIII. ch. xiv.; *Mém. de madame du Hausset*, p. 99; Notice concerning the Cardinal de Bernis, appended to Madame du Hausset; *Mercure historiq.* t. CXLII. p. 96; *Mém. de Besenval*, t. I. p. 303; Sismondi, t. XXVIII. p. 111.

[1] This man was finally made keeper of the seals!

energy. He imprisoned eight members of the parliament of Franche-Comté, and two members of the parliament of Brittany. The course of justice remained for several months suspended at Paris, Rouen, Rennes, Besançon, Pau, etc. Louis wished to restore their offices to the greater part of the members of the parliament of Paris who had resigned, provided that they asked for them again, but to hold as valid the resignation of the sixteen exiled leaders. The parliamentarians refused to return without their colleagues, and without the revocation of the measures that had offended them. The parliaments of the provinces sent the most violent remonstrances, one after the other, in favor of the reëstablishment of the parliament at Paris. Louis yielded, weary of strife: he consented at length to annul all the resignations; to withdraw, under the pretext of interpreting it, the declaration which had so much irritated the magistrates; and to recall the exiles: but the two chambers which had been abolished were not reëstablished, and their members were distributed among the three other chambers of inquiries (September 1). The provincial parliaments also obtained the reintegration of their exiled or imprisoned *members*. By way of compensation, the King recalled the exiled prelates, entreating them to listen to the pacific exhortations of the Holy Father. Internal peace thus seemed reëstablished for a moment; but the King had not shown sufficient good will to obtain the credit of it. The principal negotiator of the compromise had been the Abbé de Bernis. Madame de Pompadour had been very glad to restore the parliament, through hostility to the Jesuits and the party of the Dauphin. She wished to be able to boast of making peace in France, and war in Germany.

Her policy, conciliatory at home, became more and more violent abroad, if to such a thing can be given the name of policy. The French ministers were little more than puppets, of which Maria Theresa and Kaunitz held the wires. The cabinet of Versailles, impelled by Madame de Pompadour, together with the Dauphiness, the daughter of the Elector-King, Augustus III., had broken off all diplomatic relations with Prussia from October, 1756, which indicated the intention of engaging against her otherwise than as a simple auxiliary of Austria.

Preparations were made on the most extensive scale during the winter of 1756-1757 for the war in Germany. Russia, already allied to Austria and Saxony, had acceded, October 31, 1756, to the treaty between France and Austria; and it had been agreed

that France should pay the subsidy promised by Austria to the Czarina.[1]

This was only the beginning of the exorbitant demands of the court of Vienna. The masses of French troops that moved to the Rhine from the opening of the spring attest that the treaty of Versailles and its twenty-four thousand auxiliaries were already left far behind; and that France was about not merely to assist, but to plunge headlong into the continental war, — the Austrian war. As to the maritime war, the French war, it was left to do the best it could!

January 17, 1757, the Germanic Diet, under the double pressure of Austria and France, had determined to despatch the contingents of the Circles to aid in the reëstablishment of the peace disturbed by the aggression of the King of Prussia. March 14, France and Sweden signified to the Diet that they should fulfil the obligations incumbent on them as guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia. The aristocratic party of the senate had been wholly the rulers in Sweden since a monarchical conspiracy had been recently stifled in the blood of its authors (in 1756); and the senate had forced the King, the brother-in-law of Frederick II.,[2] to side with France and Austria against the brother of his wife, without even consulting the Four States of Sweden. A tempting bait had been offered the Swedes. By a treaty of March 21, France promised to aid Sweden in recovering what she had lost in Pomerania since 1679. Austria acceded to the treaty; and, a few months after (September 22), a more explicit agreement promised all Pomerania, on the basis of the treaty of Westphalia, in addition to a subsidy paid, half by France and half by Austria, on condition that Sweden put twenty thousand soldiers into the field. The Elector of Cologne, the Palatine, all the princes of the Rhine, and all those of Southern Germany, were drawn into the coalition by French subsidies. Much ability was employed by the diplomatic agents of France in the pursuit of an insane aim. No allies were left to England and Prussia but the House of Brunswick, Hesse Cassel, and a few petty Saxon princes. Neutrality was definitively refused to Hanover, unless it granted the French free

[1] The omission relative to Turkey, in the treaty of May 1, 1756, with Austria, was partially repaired in the agreement with Russia. It was stipulated therein that France should be bound to nothing against the Turks. — See Flassan, t. VI. p. 200.

[2] The King of Sweden was then Adolphus Frederick of Holstein Eutin, elected in 1751 by the protection of Russia, after the death of King Frederick of Hesse Cassel, whose brother was set aside from the throne.

passage to Prussia, and a place as security. Madame de Pompadour here exceeded the wishes of Maria Theresa, who would have consented to the neutrality of Hanover; but all our court generals, eager for an easy glory, now thought it impossible to send too many forces to Germany.

When the Austrian cabinet saw France well disposed, it seized the happy moment, and sought to guarantee, by a formal engagement, that this great fire would not die out after the first effort. A second compact between Versailles and Vienna was therefore signed on the anniversary of the first (May 1, 1757). Louis XV. was made to sign a promise to support one hundred and five thousand men at arms during the whole course of the war; also to keep ten thousand Bavarians and Würtembergers in his pay on behalf of the Empress-Queen, and to pay Maria Theresa an annual subsidy of twelve million German florins. Maria Theresa only engaged to support eighty thousand soldiers. The war was not to cease until Frederick had lost, with Silesia, Glatz, Crossen, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Pomerania, Cleves, Geldern, etc. The Empress was to have the greater part of the spoils; and, next to her, Sweden, Saxony, the Palatine, etc. France and Austria were to consent to the election in Poland of a prince of the House of Saxony after Augustus III., and were to pay to Augustus III. a joint and equal subsidy. As soon as Silesia, and all her share of the conquest, was secured to Maria Theresa by a definitive treaty, she was to cede, to France, Ostend, Nieuwpoort, Furnes, the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Mons, Chimay, and Beaumont. The maritime places of Ostend and Nieuwpoort were to be placed temporarily in the custody of France. The rest of the Austrian Netherlands were to be transferred to the Infant Duke of Parma in exchange for his duchy, which was to be ceded to Austria. On the extinction of the posterity of the Ex-Duke of Parma, become sovereign of the Netherlands, the Netherlands were to revert to Maria Theresa or her heirs, with the exception of Tournaisis, which was to be ceded to France. Luxemburg was to be razed. The succession of the Two Sicilies, promised by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Duke of Parma in case the King of the Two Sicilies should become King of Spain, was guaranteed, in this event, to the younger son of the King of the Two Sicilies, provided that he ceded the Presides to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; that is, to Austria. France promised her good offices to secure Modena to Austria. Maria Theresa was to exert herself, at the recurrence of peace, to cause Minorca to be ceded to France by England,

and to deliver Dunkirk from its fetters (this was only a promise of good offices, and not an obligatory clause as with respect to Silesia). France was to second the election of the Arch-Duke Joseph, the son of the Emperor Francis I. and Maria Theresa, to the dignity of King of the Romans.[1]

The parts were assigned, admitting that Russia did not demand hers, — a thing very improbable. The question now was to take them. In the month of April, the armies were everywhere in motion. Eighty thousand French, under the command of the Marshal d'Estrées,[2] invaded the Prussian domains of the Lower Rhine; and some other French troops assembled in Alsace to repair to Central Germany. The Austrians concentrated in Bohemia; the Swedes, from Stralsund and Rügen, threatened Prussian Pomerania; and a formidable body of Russians advanced slowly through Lithuania towards Prussia. The republic of Poland had, indeed, refused to participate in the war; but it was not in a condition to close its territory to the belligerent parties. Frederick was in Saxony with the main body of his forces, confronting the Austrians; and a Prussian army corps was preparing to defend royal Prussia against the Russians. Frederick was desirous that the Hanoverian army, reassembled in Westphalia under the Duke of Cumberland,[3] should defend the Lower Rhine against the French. The Hanoverians pretended to be able to make a stand nowhere but on the Weser, — a river much less advantageous to dispute than the Rhine. Cleves, Geldern, Wesel, then nearly all Westphalia, were therefore evacuated almost without striking a blow, in proportion as the Marshal d'Estrées advanced, — a general more circumspect and slower than was necessary before an army inferior in numbers. Cumberland had only fifty thousand men. The French army extended, without opposition, from Hesse to East Friesland. The war was carried on tamely in this direction, and there was not for nearly four months a single action worthy of remark (April–July).

The war in Bohemia offered a terrible contrast to that in Westphalia. Frederick had, according to his custom, seized the offensive. Four Prussian corps had suddenly debouched from Saxony and Silesia into Bohemia in the latter part of April, and rejoined each other before Prague. Prince Charles of Lorraine, the brother of the Emperor, and Field-Marshal Braun, who covered Prague

[1] Garden, *Hist. des Traités de paix*, t. IV. pp. 39–44, 349.
[2] He was a Le Tellier. He belonged to the D'Estrées only by the mother's side.
[3] It was composed of German troops returned from England, and new levies.

with the principal Austrian army, seventy thousand strong, had not time to receive a second army corps that Field-Marshal Daun was bringing to their assistance. Frederick assailed them with almost equal numbers, and forced them from their positions, after immense carnage (May 6). It was the most bloody day that had been witnessed since Malplaquet. Forty thousand Austrians threw themselves into Prague; twelve thousand more, cut off from the main body of their army, joined Marshal Daun; the rest were killed or captured. Frederick detached an army corps to hold Daun in check, and, with the rest, besieged the vanquished troops in Prague. Unable to storm a whole army in this great city, he attempted to reduce Prague by famine. At the end of a few weeks, the besieged army began, indeed, to suffer greatly; but the other army of the enemy, that of Daun, was increasing in an alarming manner. Frederick took a rash course. He went in person to reënforce the much too feeble corps that was holding Daun in check near Kolin, fifteen leagues from Prague, and attacked Daun in a strong position, with thirty-five thousand men against sixty thousand (June 18).[1] He was defeated with very great loss. Owing to the dilatoriness of the Austrians, this grave repulse did not become a disaster; and Frederick had leisure to raise the siege of Prague, and to withdraw towards Saxony in good order.

While Frederick was driven from Bohemia, his allies were not more fortunate in Lower Germany. A collision had finally taken place, July 26, between the Marshal d'Estrées and the Duke of Cumberland. The Hanoverians were covered by the Weser. The French crossed this river, and turned the enemy between Hameln and Hastenbeck. The French right, commanded by our best general, Chevert, carried the heights occupied by the enemy's left; and D'Estrées was advancing with the centre, when a man destined to great military renown, Prince Ferdinand, the brother of the Duke of Brunswick, made his way through the forest with a few battalions, between Chevert's right, which was not sufficiently supported, and the main body of the French army. Confusion was already prevailing in the army, and D'Estrées had

[1] A Saxon corps formed a part of this army. A great portion of the Saxons, forcibly enlisted by Frederick at Pirna, had deserted. It was in the action of Kolin that Frederick made the famous speech to his hesitating soldiers: "Do you think, then, that you will live always?" Concerning all of Frederick's campaigns, see his *Hist. de la guerre de Sept Ans*, t. I., II.; and the *Mémoires de Napoleon*, t. VII. Napoleon criticises all of Frederick's operations. He was the only commentator that could have been an authority on such a subject.

ordered a retrograde movement, when it was discovered that Ferdinand was not supported, and that Cumberland was in full retreat. The next day, D'Estrées received a courier who brought him his recall. The court, impatient at his delays, sent him as a successor the *hero of Mahon*. The exchange was not destined to be advantageous.

Richelieu owed his appointment to the aged Pâris Duvernei, the commissary-general, whose mind, fertile in ideas and resources, rendered him the necessary counsellor of all the rulers. Duvernei had the ear of Madame de Pompadour like that of the Count d'Argenson. The real minister of war, without the title, he had won the favorite and the King by a magnificent plan to overpower the King of Prussia in two campaigns. Frederick was to be hemmed in at once by the Elbe and the Oder; the great French army, transferred to the command of Richelieu, after crushing the Hanoverians, was to move on Magdeburg; a second corps of twenty-five thousand men, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, an intimate friend of Madame de Pompadour, was to join the army of the Circles of the Empire, almost equal in numbers, and to capture Electoral Saxony; and the Russians and the Swedes were to unite in the heart of Pomerania and Brandenburg. It belonged to the Austrians to capture Lusatia and Silesia.

Success seemed probable. The great French army, already far superior to the enemy under D'Estrées, and again reënforced under Richelieu, drove Cumberland before it, who, instead of falling back towards the Middle Elbe and the Prussians, retired northward towards the Lower Elbe, every day receding farther from his allies. Hanover, Brunswick, Verden, and Bremen were occupied by the French. The corps of Soubise, leaving Alsace, joined in Thuringia the contingents of the Circles, commanded by the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and threatened the electorate of Saxony (the end of August). The Russians arrived in line with from sixty to eighty thousand men; but instead of pushing forward, as was desired, directly to the Oder, they invaded the kingdom of Prussia. The Prussian marshal, Lehwald, boldly attacked them at Jägerndorf with an army two-thirds inferior, and was repulsed (August 30). Fifteen thousand Swedes, meanwhile, had landed in Pomerania: the Austrians were in Lusatia, and at the entrance of Silesia. Frederick left the main body of his troops with the Prince of Brunswick Bevern to confront the Austrians, and hastened to Saxony with a feeble corps in order to arrest the Franco-Imperialists. He received fatal intelligence

on reaching the Saale. The Duke of Cumberland, driven to bay by the French on the Lower Elbe, near Stade, had just capitulated with all his army. An agreement, signed at Kloster-Zeven, September 8, through the mediation of a neutral power, Denmark, had stipulated the cessation of hostilities between the French and the Hanoverians; the dismissal of the Hessian, Brunswick, and other auxiliaries, to their respective countries; and the retirement of the Hanoverians beyond the Elbe, to the Duchy of Lauenburg, the garrison of Stade excepted.

Frederick despaired for a moment: he felt himself on the point of being crushed between so many enemies. He saw Richelieu, at liberty to join Soubise and Hildburghausen, already greatly superior to the Prussian corps that was opposed to them; he saw Daun, much stronger than Bevern; Prussia and Pomerania invaded; and Austrian parties already roving over Brandenburg: a large detachment had penetrated to Berlin, and laid this defenceless capital under contribution. The thought of suicide occurred to Frederick, as was expressed by him in an *Epistle to the Marquis d'Argens*, which is perhaps the most singular monument of this strange character, — a mixture of lamentations, heroic bravado, materialistic maxims, and appeals to the memory of the *heroes of liberty*, the Catos and Brutuses, whose example he was about to follow. It is not exactly evident what relation the despot of Prussia could find between himself and the *heroes of liberty*. This *Epistle*, and that which he soon after addressed to Voltaire, who had retired some time before to Geneva, are almost the only flashes of poetry in which is found the often unfortunate brilliancy of the royal wit. It was not certainly a common soul that could draw inspiration from such a tempest. Frederick did not suffer himself long to be cast down. "For my part," he wrote to Voltaire, on congratulating him upon his philosophic retreat, —

> "For my part, threatened with shipwreck,
> I must, in braving the storm,
> Think, live, and die like a king.[1]

He resolved not to take his own life, but to conquer, or die on the field of battle.

The clouds began to break here and there on his gloomy horizon. The Russian army, which seemed destined to swallow up Prussia proper, instead of profiting by its victory of Jägerndorf,

[1] See *Œuvres de Frédéric II.* t. VI.; *Commentaire historique de Voltaire;* Correspondence of Voltaire and the King of Prussia, 1757.

had beat a retreat as early as the middle of September, and had already taken up its winter-quarters in Poland, which it treated as a conquered country. English gold, and, above all, the sympathy of the heir presumptive of Russia, the Grand Duke Peter of Holstein Gottorp, for the King of Prussia, had gained over Chancellor Bestoujeff, who directed the ministry, and Field-Marshal Apraxin, the leader of the army. The retreat of the Russians was a veritable defection, contrary to the intentions of their Czarina. The Prussian marshal, Lehwald, found himself at liberty to march to the assistance of Pomerania, and to force back the Swedes into the Island of Rügen. On the other hand, the consequences of the agreement of Kloster-Zeven were not what Frederick had feared. This agreement had been very badly made. Richelieu, a mediocre, although tolerably active general, and an incapable diplomatist, had not been sagacious enough to secure the only serious guarantee of the engagements contracted by his adversaries, — the immediate separation and disarming of the capitulated troops: he had not even stipulated the duration of the suspension of arms, as if this would endure by full right until peace, or the interdiction to the capitulated troops to serve against the Empire and Austria. The Hanoverians and their auxiliaries did not hasten, the one to return home, the other to cross the Elbe. The French cabinet attempted in vain to repair the folly of its general, and to complete the agreement: its efforts only served to furnish pretexts to the enemy for evading the execution of his promises. It became evident that the capitulation would be observed or violated according to the good or bad fortune of the Prussian arms.

Richelieu, however, might still have put the King of Prussia in great peril: he had left a small corps in observation before the capitulated army, and had moved on Halberstadt. From there, he might have shut in Frederick between himself and Soubise, and forced him at least to recross the Elbe. The French cabinet prevented him from doing this: Madame de Pompadour wished to secure to her favorite Soubise the honor of delivering Saxony. Richelieu received orders to send a reënforcement to Soubise, and to remain at Halberstadt with the main body of his troops. He indemnified himself for glory by booty, subjected Hanover and the neighboring cantons to a ransom, and pillaged and authorized pillage around him with shameless cynicism: the soldiers called him *Father Marauder*. The organization of the French armies had long since begun profoundly to deteriorate; but the corrup-

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For T. Hinton at the King's Arms in Newgate Street.

tion of Richelieu and the weakness of Soubise carried the evil to its height during this campaign. The want of discipline and the demoralization knew no bounds: these armies, full of luxury and wretchedness, encumbered with courtesans, merchants, and lackeys, dragging after them three times as many beasts of burden as saddle-horses, and displaying travelling bazaars of articles of fashion in the midst of their tents, resembled the cohorts of Darius and Xerxes more than the armies of Turenne and Gustavus Adolphus.[1] The leaders permitted the soldiery all kinds of depredations, that its indigence might not revolt against their magnificent voluptuousness. Hope returned to Frederick's heart as soon as he had seen his adversaries near by.

When Frederick reached Saxony, the French and the Imperialists were dispersed in Thuringia: he drove Soubise before him as far as Eisenach (September 20). This diversion would have been very rash before other enemies; for Richelieu, who had arrived from Halberstadt, might have cut off Frederick's retreat by reascending the Saale: but a handful of soldiers commanded by Ferdinand of Brunswick sufficed to restrain Richelieu, who was forbidden to advance; and Soubise and Hildburghausen united, shamefully suffered themselves to be arrested, and thrown into disorder at Gotha, by a small advance guard led by Seidlitz, the famous organizer of the Prussian cavalry (October 13). Frederick, during the interval, having been obliged to make a retrograde movement towards Brandenburg, which was infested by Austrian parties, the Franco-Imperialists advanced as far as Leipsic. Frederick hastened thither. They drew back, and put the Saale between them and him. Frederick crossed the river, and joined them near Rosbach. He had less than twenty-five thousand men against more than fifty thousand. Soubise, nevertheless, was inclined to avoid battle. The Prince of Hildburghausen wished to fight: he had the chief command, the French being only auxiliaries. They marched on the enemy without precautions, and without reconnoitring (November 3). The position occupied by Frederick being too strong to be attacked in front, they attempted to flank his left. He flanked his adversaries, on his side, on their right, by making a change of front, which only an army like his was capable of effecting with such velocity. His movement was masked by heights

[1] Twelve thousand peddlers' and sutlers' wagons were seen at one time in the army of Soubise, exclusive of the train of the officers. The squadron of the Duke de Villeroi (body-guards) had alone a suite of twelve hundred horses. — Archenholtz, *Hist. de la guerre de Sept Ans*, p. 119.

and ravines. Suddenly, at nightfall, the Prussian cavalry burst on the main body of the Franco-Imperial cavalry, without leaving it time to form. Batteries unmasked on the heights fired upon the hollows, into which the allied infantry crowded, and which was harassed there in flank by the musketry of the main body of the Prussian infantry, and was charged by a reserve of cavalry. In a few moments, all was overpowered; and the allied army presented nothing but a shapeless mass. Night covered the rout. The allied army disbanded like a horde of Tartars, infesting all Thuringia with the most odious excesses.

One of the French general officers, the only one that had succeeded in maintaining any order in the small corps which he commanded, the Count de Saint-Germain, has explained this shameful catastrophe. On the day of the battle, there were six thousand marauders absent from the camp! Of the two generals, Soubise and Hildburghausen, the German was even more incapable and less obeyed than the Frenchman. Not only was a full third of the army formed of the troops of the Circles, very bad soldiers, and, besides, greatly disaffected towards the Austro-French cause;[1] but the other two-thirds, the French army corps, were composed in great part of foreign and Protestant regiments, who fought, despite themselves, against the King of Prussia. As to the French troops proper, apart from the corrupting examples which they received from the court nobility, their disorganization arose from two leading causes: the one was too great increase of the staff of officers, overloaded with generals ignorant and jealous of each other, and with needy officers, without emulation, or hope of advancement, who thought only of gleaning profit from their comrades;[2] the other was the very endeavors that had been made to improve the tactics. These confused attempts, without any fixed system, varying from one regiment to another, had made the army a true Babel.

Frederick might easily have prevented the allies from rallying,

[1] All Protestant Germany, in spite of its princes, was, at heart, with the Prussians. The Würtemberg contingent had mutinied when it had been sought to lead it to the Austrian army.

[2] *Correspondance du comte de Saint-Germain*, p. 196. The system of leaving the recruital and maintenance of the companies to the care of the captains was very fatal to discipline. It is inconceivable that Louvois should have suffered it to subsist. "Our nation has no longer any military spirit!" exclaims the Count de Saint-Germain sorrowfully. "The feeling of honor is annihilated; . . . we do not know how to carry on war; . . . madness rules everywhere!"—*Ibid.* pp. 170–213. Rochambeau, in his *Mémoires* (t. I. p. 121), states that the manœuvring was so bad, that a whole day was needed to draw up the army in order of battle.

and have destroyed them; but, meanwhile, Silesia was about to be lost: the Austrians had forced back the Prince of Bevern from Lusatia upon the Oder, and were besieging Schweidnitz. Frederick returned rapidly to Silesia: he learned on his way of the loss of Schweidnitz, the defeat of Bevern by Daun, and the loss of Breslau (November 11–22–24). It was the most glorious moment of his life. He pushed straight onwards by forced marches, rallied the wrecks of Bevern's forces to his little army, and burst, with thirty-three thousand men, upon an enemy almost double in numbers. By an oblique attack, he fell on the left of the enemy, who was expecting him in front, and broke it. Daun could not succeed in changing his order of battle under the fire and impetuous charges of the Prussians: he was treated like Soubise (December 3). He brought back less than twenty thousand men to Bohemia: forty thousand Austrians were killed, captured, dispersed, or surrendered a few days afterwards in Breslau. This battle of Leuthen is one of the masterpieces of the military art.

Frederick thus gloriously terminated the campaign which had seemed destined to annihilate him. Fortune returned to him everywhere. The Hanoverians had not waited for the triumph of Leuthen to break the agreement of Kloster-Zeven. Mr. Pitt, whom George II., obstinate in his antipathies, had removed from the ministry in April, but recalled in July under the threatening outcry of public opinion, — Mr. Pitt, become in some sort the dictator of Great Britain, had induced the government to decide upon the rupture of this humiliating compact at the end of November, and to solicit of Frederick Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick as the leader of the Hanoverians. The Duke of Cumberland, who had completely lost on the Weser the renown usurped at Culloden, disappeared, deprived of his popularity, from the political stage. Prince Ferdinand recommenced hostilities against the Marshal de Richelieu as early as the beginning of December; but the rigor of the season soon obliged both armies to take up their winter-quarters in Hanover.[1]

Mr. Pitt, thwarted by George II., and ill served by the instruments of his great designs, had not hitherto been as successful in the waters either of Europe or America as his ally Frederick in

[1] Concerning the campaigns of the French in 1757, see Frederick II., *Guerre de Sept Ans*, t. I. ch. v., vi.; *Mém. de Napoléon*, t. VII.; *Précis des guerres de Frédéric II.* ch. iii.; *Mém. de Duclos*, ap. *Collect. Michaud*, 3d series, t. X. p. 657; *Correspondance de Richelieu*; *Mém. de Rochambeau*, t. I. pp. 83–106; *Mém. de Besenval*, t. I. p. 74; Flassan, t. VI. p. 92.

Germany. At the moment of the reverses of the Hanoverian army, he had sought to effect a diversion on the coasts of France. A strong English squadron, convoying ten or twelve thousand troops, had crossed the channel that separates the Islands of Ré and Oléron, and taken possession of the Island of Aix, which commands the mouth of the Charente. The aim of the enterprise was the destruction of Rochefort, one of our three maritime arsenals. Rochefort was by no means in a position of defence; and if the English had landed, and forced their way into the Charente by favor of the high tides, they would have infallibly succeeded. They had captured some peasants on the coast: these brave men, under the threats and promises of the enemy, maintained, with imperturbable assurance, that the fortifications were in good condition, the fosses full of water, and the place well garrisoned with soldiers. The English general lost several days in hesitation: meanwhile reënforcements arrived, and success became impossible. October 1, the English fleet departed, having achieved no other exploit than the demolition of the fort of the Island of Aix.[1] The general, Mordaunt, was brought to trial on his return, but, more fortunate than Byng, was acquitted.

On the coast of Canada, the English had changed the plan of combined attacks which had succeeded so badly with them, and resolved to concentrate their efforts on Louisburg: this conquest would give them the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and enable them to cut off communication between France and Canada. Fifteen ships of the line and eleven thousand troops were collected on the coast of Nova Scotia. The English expected to find only a weak squadron at Royal Island; but, conformably to the plan of the campaign made by Machault before his fall, two more squadrons had joined the first, and seventeen ships filled the roadstead of Louisburg. The English renounced the thought of landing, sent back their soldiers, and, reënforced by four ships, cruised about for some time to tempt the French fleet to battle. A frightful tempest surprised them September 24, wrecked one of their vessels, and disabled twelve. The French admiral did not know how to take advantage of this to pursue and complete the destruction of the ruined fleet; and, ere long, a cruel epidemic, which broke out in our ships on their return to Brest, did as much harm as the storm had done to the enemy.

[1] *L'Esprit de la Tactique* (by the Marshal de Saxe), notes by the editor; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 131, and documents, p. 381.

The government had done what it ought for the defence of Louisburg: this was not the case with respect to the Canadian continent. The governor and the general, Vaudreuil and Montcalm, had asked for a reënforcement of five thousand men: fifteen hundred were sent them. The ministry was terrified at seeing the expenses of Canada raised from one million a year to seven or eight millions, and continually increasing: the defence of these *frozen deserts* cost too dear! It was better, doubtless, to give fifty millions to Maria Theresa, the Russians, and the German princes, and to spend a hundred more for an army designed to place Germany again under the Austrian yoke, which France had formerly had such difficulty in breaking! The defenders of Canada were not discouraged, and the campaign of 1757 was not less honorable to them than the preceding ones. When they saw the English directing their principal forces against Louisburg, they seized the offensive in the direction of the frontier of New York: Montcalm assaulted and took Fort William Henry, which the English had built at the head of Lake George, and which harassed Lake Champlain and the road to Central Canada (August, 1757).

Each victory was only a respite to this valiant colony, assailed by enemies constantly springing up anew. The most cruel of these enemies was want. The harvest had failed; all Canada was suffering from famine; the population and the soldiers were reduced to rations as in a besieged town;[1] and a civil administration, as corrupt and disorderly as the military government was firm and generous, aggravated these calamities instead of relieving them.

This year also had therefore been unfavorable to the English, except in India, of which we shall speak directly. Our Indian Company had continued its cowardly folly; but a squadron had been sent thither which might have repaired the evil.

To France, the beginning of the war had a significant character, — on the sea and in the colonies, glorious successes; on the continent, deplorable management and an ignominious repulse. It was no longer known how to carry on a great continental war: it was possible to sustain a petty colonial warfare, — petty in the number of combatants, great in its results, and in the character of the choice spirits that were engaged in it. Providence seemed to stay our hand, and to point to us where it was necessary to fight.

[1] Garneau, *Hist. du Canada*, t. III. ch. ii.; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* p. 186; Sainte-Croix, t. II. p. 260; Continuation of Hume, book xxvii.

The government closed its eyes and ears: it acted infuriatedly on the continent, and neglected the sea. This King, so eager to make peace in 1748, and so desirous afterwards of maintaining it at the most absurd price, the most shameful concessions to England, dreamed no longer of any thing but war to the death, and refused, during the winter, the overtures of peace attempted by the King of Prussia. The reason was, that the English had only threatened France, while Frederick had wounded the self-love of Louis XV. The intentions of the government were sufficiently characterized by the fact that the most important man that could be found, the aged Marshal de Belle-Isle, was placed in the ministry of war (February 29, 1758), whilst the marine remained in the hands of men of straw, who succeeded each other by chance.

The English, meanwhile, made prodigious efforts at once on the sea to attain their true aim, and on the land to divert and absorb the forces of France. The good order of the administration sufficed for this double employment. The parliament, assembled in December, 1757, had voted sixty thousand men for the navy, fifty-four thousand for the army, and nearly £10,500,000 for the budget of 1748: the real expenditure, regulated by the Committee of Ways and Means, amounted to still more, and exceeded £11,700,000. A treaty of April 11, 1758, secured to the King of Prussia a subsidy of £670,000; a subsidy which was afterwards renewed from year to year. The public, full of enthusiasm for William Pitt, instantly took the loans opened by the ministry. The English debt this year attained the sum of £87,367,210. Pitt neglected nothing to find agents capable of realizing his plans, and at length succeeded. The French government, on the contrary, plunged into every kind of financial and administrative disorder, carried on the continental war in which it was absorbed, as badly as the maritime war which it sacrificed. The Marshal de Belle-Isle vainly issued good regulations for the reformation of the army. Some were not executed; the rest could only bear fruit in the future.[1] The generals continued to be chosen, not from the war department, but from the boudoir of the favorite. When the ill success of the

[1] April 29, 1758. — Regulation prescribing that no officer should thenceforth have a regiment without having served at least seven years, five of which must have been as captain. This was abolishing the *colonels à la bavette*. To become captain, it was necessary to have served at least two years in the inferior grades. June 3. — Sumptuary laws for regulating the table of officers. — See *Anc. Lois françaises*, t. XXII. pp. 275, 276. Belle-Isle also strove to interdict the vendibility of companies.

agreement of Kloster-Zeven had caused the recall of Richelieu (February, 1758), who came to Paris to enjoy the fruit of his depredations,[1] a *young clergyman* of royal blood was given him as a successor, — the Count de Clermont, the brother of the late *Monsieur le Duc*, and commendatory Abbé of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. He had obtained permission from Rome to bear arms without renouncing his benefices; but he knew more of boudoirs and green-rooms than of camps.

The Abbé-General, on his arrival in Germany, found the army ruined by disease, want, and lack of discipline, and dispersed by Richelieu in quarters which covered forty-eight leagues of country, from the Rhine to Brunswick, in the presence of an enemy concentrated in such a manner as to be able to assemble in forty-eight hours. Clermont had not time to reconnoitre his position. Ferdinand of Brunswick, after concerting his plan of campaign with the King of Prussia, assembled the Hanoverian army in the middle of February, and moved rapidly upon the Weser, while a Prussian corps made a diversion towards Brunswick. The French detachments fell back on all sides in disorder towards the middle of Westphalia, evacuating Hanover, Bremen, and Verden: a corps of five thousand men was besieged and captured in Minden on the Weser, without any serious attempt having been made by the Count de Clermont to succor it (March 14). Clermont did not endeavor to make a stand anywhere, although he was still superior in numbers; Westphalia was abandoned, like Hanover, without fighting; and the army did not stop until it had recrossed the Rhine at Wesel (April 3). Eleven thousand French remained, sick and prisoners, in the hands of the enemy, who had been powerfully seconded by the general rising of the Hanoverian and Westphalian peasants, exasperated by our depredations.

This brilliant six weeks' campaign did not satisfy Ferdinand of Brunswick: after resting and reorganizing his army, he crossed the Rhine at Emmerick, on the frontier of Holland (June 2), occupied Cleves, and marched directly on Clermont, who had not had the sagacity to put himself in a posture to dispute the crossing of the Rhine. After sundry confused movements, Clermont had massed his army in a good position at Crefeld, between the Rhine and the Niers. Brunswick had less than thirty thousand men: Clermont's forces, swollen by numerous recruits, were incomparably superior. Brunswick effected a manœuvre, the

[1] The public gave the name of the Hanover Pavilion to an elegant structure built by Richelieu, on his return, at the corner of the Boulevard des Italiens.

temerity of which would have been insane, had he not relied on the profound incapacity of his enemy. He left half of his army confronting the French, and with the other half made a great circuit through an uneven and difficult country, and flanked the extreme French left. He was arrested an hour and a half by two brave officers, Rochambeau and Saint-Germain. There was full time to succor them, and to precipitate superior forces on the assailants; but no one stirred: the Abbé-General and his counsellors had taken the movement for a feigned attack. Rochambeau and Saint-Germain were overpowered, and Brunswick debouched in the rear of the army. Clermont ordered a retreat: more than three-fourths of the army had not fired a gun (June 23). He fell back to Cologne, while Prussian detachments took Roermond and Dusseldorf, and sent out parties as far as the gates of Brussels.

All the great names of ancient France were sullied or rendered ridiculous in turn by their unworthy heirs. After the Richelieus and the Rohans (Soubise), it was the turn of the Condés: the little prestige that remained to the House of Condé, since the ignominious deeds of *Monsieur le Duc* and the Count de Charolais, was left on the battle-field of Crefeld. The court dared not retain the Prince-Abbé in command. The question was to replace him. There were two good lieutenant-generals in the army, Chevert and Saint-Germain: neither was taken. The Marquis de Contades was chosen by seniority.

The operations which had taken place in the interior of Germany prevented Prince Ferdinand from prosecuting his undertakings on the left bank of the Rhine. Madame de Pompadour, who absolutely insisted on giving her friend Soubise an opportunity for revenge, had caused the army corps, defeated at Rosbach, and which had wintered on the allied territories of Franconia and the Palatinate, to be put in a condition for action. This army, reorganized on the banks of the Main, reënforced by the Würtemberg contingent paid by France to Austria, and raised to thirty thousand men, had marched forward in July, and invaded Hesse. Its advance guard defeated a corps inferior in numbers at Sangerhausen, which Ferdinand had left to guard Hesse (July 23); and Soubise reëntered Hanover. Ferdinand was forced to recross the Rhine; a very dangerous operation in the presence of an enemy that had the superiority in numbers. A rising of the river carried away his pontoon-bridges. Had Contades himself crossed the Rhine, and taken the Hanoverians in the rear, the destruction of

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Bataille de

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Diagraphe et Pantographe Gavard

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Ferdinand would have been certain. He contented himself with throwing Chevert on the right bank, with six or seven thousand men, to burn the bridges which the enemy was laying down anew at Rees, above Emmerick. The corps of Chevert, insufficient for this decisive movement, was repulsed by the troops that guarded the bridges; and Ferdinand of Brunswick stole a march on Contades and recrossed the river, evacuating the places that he had taken (August 10).

Contades crossed the Rhine after the enemy. He would have gladly joined Soubise on the Lippe; but Soubise had penetrated into Hanover. Ferdinand of Brunswick, posted under Münster, received there a reënforcement of twelve thousand English that had landed at Emden, while Contades was reënforced by five or six thousand Saxons. Ferdinand detached General Oberg, with fifteen thousand men, to join the Hessian corps defeated at Sangerhausen, capture Cassel, and cut off Soubise from Hesse. Soubise fell back in time on Cassel, received there a reënforcement sent by Contades under the command of Chevert, and attacked Oberg, October 7, at Lutterberg, on the Werra. The French were greatly superior. Chevert turned the enemy, took him in flank, and decided the victory. Oberg abandoned the confines of Hesse and Hanover to fall back on the army of Ferdinand. Chevert had won the battle: Madame de Pompadour gave the marshal's bâton to Soubise.

Ferdinand of Brunswick endeavored to avenge this repulse by preventing Chevert from returning to Contades' army: he was unsuccessful in this; but he succeeded in interrupting the communication between Contades and Soubise. Winter was approaching: Soubise, who had derived no advantage from the success of Lutterberg, evacuated Hesse, and took up his winter-quarters between the Lahn and the Main. Contades went to winter on the left bank of the Lower Rhine, leaving the enemy established in Westphalia. The resumption of the offensive beyond the Rhine remained therefore ineffectual; and the enemy kept the fruits of his first success, — a wretched issue of these two campaigns which had consumed so many men and resources.[1]

The war in Western Germany, or Hanover, had been this year completely distinct from that in Eastern Germany, or Prussia; so that we have been able to describe the one without even alluding

[1] Frederick II., *Guerre de Sept Ans*, t. I. ch. viii.; *Mém. de Napoléon*, t. VII.; *Précis*, etc., ch. iv.; Correspondence of the Count de Saint-Germain; *Mém. de Rochambeau*, t. I. p. 112.

to the other. The war in Prussia continued to be as grand in the military point of view, as lugubrious in the point of view of humanity: the destruction of men and devastation of territory therein exceeded the War of the Austrian Succession.

The Russians had been the first to move anew. The embassies of Austria and France had succeeded, by reanimating the Czarina Elizabeth's hatred of Frederick, in conquering the party of the heir presumptive, the Grand Duke, at the court of St. Petersburg, in favor of Prussia and England. The Chancellor Bestoujeff had been arrested and replaced by Woronzoff, the partisan of Vienna and Versailles; and Marshal Apraxin had been recalled: his successor, Fermor, reëntered Prussia as early as the month of January, 1758, and took possession of the whole province. The plan of the campaign had been for the Russians to march on Pomerania and Brandenburg, while the Austrians, masters of Silesia, retook Saxony. The great victory of Frederick at Leuthen, in December, 1757, had overthrown this plan. Frederick resolved not to suffer the Austrians to reorganize on his frontier, but to occupy them at a distance in their own country, in order to be able then to return to oppose the Russians. Despite the typhus-fever, which had carried off a multitude of his soldiers, he had filled up the ranks of his army during the winter. In the middle of March he entered the field, besieged and retook Schweidnitz, which achieved the liberation of Silesia (the middle of April), then fell upon Moravia (May).

The aim of the expedition was to take Olmütz, that the Austrians might use the campaign in retaking it, and that, meanwhile, Frederick might have his hands free. The enterprise was not happily conceived. The Prussians, so formidable on the field of battle, were still weakly organized as to engineering and siege artillery,—arms which had attained perfection only in France. The resistance of Olmütz gave Field-Marshal Daun time to reorganize an army superior in numbers to that of Frederick, and to besiege, in some sort, the besiegers. Frederick was compelled to raise the siege (July 1). He repaired his mistakes with genius. While Daun was awaiting him in the mountains that separated Moravia from Silesia, he effected his retreat through Bohemia, capturing on his way the magazines of the enemy. He reëntered Silesia at the opposite extremity of the province, left the main body of his army to one of his lieutenants to restrain the Austrians, and with a strong detachment hastened to join the Prussian army corps that was painfully disputing the ground with the Russians. The

Russians, masters of the kingdom of Prussia, had sought to take military occupation of Dantzic and Polish Prussia, although Poland was a perfect stranger to the war. French diplomacy had averted the blow, and the Russians had advanced through Posen into Brandenburg. They recoiled at the approach of the King of Prussia. Frederick had about thirty-five thousand men. General Fermor, out of nearly seventy thousand soldiers that the Russian army numbered, had only forty thousand at hand. Frederick hastened to attack Zorndorf (August 25). Some false manœuvres, which at first endangered his success, were repaired by the admirable cavalry of General Seidlitz: the Russians were defeated, and driven from Brandenburg. The Prussians avenged by terrible carnage the atrocities committed in their country by the Cossack and Muscovite hordes. Frederick, despite the repulse of Olmütz, had in some sort attained his end.

The Russians expelled, Frederick fell back on the Austrians, who, united with the contingents of the Empire, were on the point of overpowering the principal Prussian army in Saxony. Frederick liberated his troops. Marshal Daun repaired to Lusatia to endeavor to cut off the Prussians from Silesia, and to cover from a distance the siege of Neisse, which was about to be undertaken by an Austrian reserve corps. Frederick, in the course of the operations, pitched a camp at Hohenkirchen overlooked by woods and heights. He did not think that the circumspect Daun would ever dare attack him. This contempt of the enemy was rudely chastised. The Austrians hemmed in and captured the camp of the King of Prussia, who lost many men, and almost all his artillery (October 15). Frederick was never greater than after a reverse: he did, conquered, what he might have done a conqueror. With the aid of a reënforcement that came to him from Saxony, he manœuvred so well, that Daun was unable to bar his way to Silesia; then went to compel the raising of the siege of Neisse, and to rid Silesia once more of the Austrians (November 5). From there he returned like lightning to the Elbe, where Daun was menacing Dresden. The Austrians were driven back from Saxony into Bohemia (the end of November); and this long campaign, in which the coalition had displayed such great forces, terminated with no other loss to Frederick than that of the province of Prussia, which had not been defended, and which was too remote to permit him to carry his arms thither. His enemies were as unable to wrest Saxony from him as Silesia.

The moral effect in France of the first two years of the conti-

nental war was such disgust with the government and its allies, that it seemed as if French arms were not in question. Public opinion was *Prussian* at Paris, partly through infatuation for Frederick and Ferdinand of Brunswick, partly through an instinctive feeling that victory would be a misfortune for France in this *Austrian* war. French self-love sought to console itself by contemptuously disavowing every thing that pertained to a power which there was no hope of changing. Such a sentiment was a true denationalization. The military leaders themselves extolled the Prussians who defeated them, but found it easier to admire than to imitate them.

Discouraged, France abandoned herself for want of power and knowledge to dispose of her own destinies: England, personified in the bold minister whom she had imposed on her King, acted with all her strength, directed by all her intellect. Her navy, increased by continual building, amounted in 1758 to one hundred and fifty-six ships of the line against seventy-seven possessed, it was said, by France: it is doubtful, however, whether the latter had so many. Mr. Pitt knew how to profit by this prodigious superiority. He had regulated the plan of operations in America, for 1758, according to the counsels of the man best acquainted with the world in dispute,—the illustrious Franklin, then agent at London of the principal Anglo-American colonies. This time, Pitt sent sufficient forces to attack simultaneously Louisburg and Canada. He despatched to America more than twenty ships of the line, and twelve thousand soldiers. The Anglo-American army was thus increased to twenty-two thousand soldiers and twenty-eight thousand mobilized militia, with a reserve of thirty thousand stationary militia. The English colonies were levied *en masse*. The French had in all less than eight thousand five hundred regular troops to defend both colonies. The inhabitants able to bear arms, from sixteen to sixty, amounted at most to seventeen or eighteen thousand.

The minister of war, the Marshal de Belle-Isle, did not, however, share in the shameful indifference of the court to these last defenders of French glory. Before his entrance into the ministry, he had presented to the King a plan to transport to Canada several thousand military colonists; but neither stability nor perseverance was the virtue of Belle-Isle: and besides, what would have been possible in 1757, when the French fleet advantageously disputed the American waters with the English fleet, was no longer so in 1758, with the system which had been adopted of dispersing our fleet

in small squadrons. Belle-Isle was unable to convey any aid of importance to the Canadians. A first squadron of six ships had set out from Toulon as early as November, 1757. It was arrested on the coast of Spain by the English fleet of the Mediterranean, fifteen ships strong, and was obliged to take refuge in the port of Carthagena. Three vessels commanded by Commodore Duquesne, the Ex-Governor of Canada, were sent to its aid. Duquesne fell among the English fleet, and was taken, with two of his ships, after a vigorous resistance (February 28, 1758). The squadron of Toulon was forced to abandon its expedition to America. Five ships that sailed from Brest were more fortunate, and arrived at Louisburg in the spring; but three more ships from the same port were unable to join them, the English fleet of America having commenced the siege of Louisburg in the interval. They succeeded, however, in throwing some soldiers into the Island of Cape Breton. In the month of April, another English squadron had attacked at the mouth of the Charente five ships of the line and some transports loaded with troops and munitions for Canada. Part of our vessels gained the offing: the rest stranded on the coast, throwing their freight overboard; and the expedition proved a failure. A convoy of fifty vessels, laden with wheat, succeeded, however, in reaching Quebec, and saved the Canadians from dying of famine this year (May 19).

Admiral Boscawen arrived in sight of Louisburg, June 2, with twenty-four ships of the line and eighteen frigates, escorting nearly sixteen thousand soldiers and militia. The place and Royal Island were defended by less than three thousand soldiers, twenty-five hundred militia, twelve hundred Indians, five ships, and five frigates. The fortifications of the town were in the worst condition; and the sole hope of the French was in the obstacles to disembarkation. The English proceeded to the most accessible point of the shore, — *Cormorant's Bay*. Almost all the garrison were in ambush there, with powerful artillery, behind a thick abatis of trees, from which it could have poured grape-shot on the masses of the enemy: unfortunately, the ambuscade unmasked too soon, just as the English were beginning to land. They reëmbarked, and effected the descent among some rocks which it had not been thought necessary to guard (June 8). The garrison was driven back into the place, and constrained to abandon the outworks, the fire from which commanded the port and the town. Reënforced by a small corps that had landed, and succeeded in making its way through the enemy, it nevertheless defended

itself heroically. The wife of the governor, Madame de Drucourt, another Madame Dupleix, set the example by crossing the ramparts under the enemy's bullets, and herself applying the match to the cannon. After six weeks' siege, the bastions crumbled everywhere under the formidable artillery of the enemy: the French fleet was burned in the port by the English batteries; and there remained no chance of safety. The governor capitulated July 26. Five thousand six hundred soldiers and sailors remained prisoners: the inhabitants of the town, the Island of Cape Breton, and the Island of St. John, were transported to France. The whole Gulf of St. Lawrence was in the possession of the English.

Canada had been assailed at the same time by such forces that resistance seemed impossible. More than sixteen thousand men had marched on Central Canada: they were designed first to capture the fortress of Carillon (or Ticonderoga), which protected Lake Champlain; then to proceed straight to Montreal. Another corps of nine thousand men was commissioned to conquer Fort Duquesne and the Valley of the Ohio. Not only were the French two-thirds inferior, but through a bad plan of the governor, Vaudreuil, their principal corps had been separated into two divisions of three thousand men each; the first posted at Ticonderoga, the second commissioned to make a diversion south of Lake Ontario. When the march of the English on Ticonderoga was certain, General Montcalm obtained the recall of the second corps from Lake Ontario, but too late. Montcalm scarcely received any reënforcements, and was forced with three thousand six hundred men to sustain an encounter with more than fifteen thousand enemies. He posted himself in an intrenched camp on the heights of Ticonderoga, near the fort, between Lakes Champlain and George. General Abercrombie attacked him there, July 8. After a prolonged succession of assaults, which lasted all day, the English retired, or rather fled, towards Lake George. Their loss had been so great, that they did not return to the charge. Abercrombie, renouncing the invasion of Central Canada, detached three thousand men towards Lake Ontario, who destroyed Fort Frontenac, a military and naval entrepôt of the French, established near the place where the St. Lawrence issues from this inland sea. The Governor of Canada had only been able to leave there a handful of men (the end of August).

Fort Duquesne also succumbed. A first English corps had been defeated. Preparations were made to renew the attack

W. J. Bartlett. T. A. Prior.

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with six thousand men; upon which, the defenders, reduced to five hundred, burned the fort,[1] and retired towards the Great Lakes (the end of November). The Valley of the Ohio was thus lost, and the communication was cut off between Canada and Louisiana. The intrepid valor of Montcalm and his companions in arms had again saved Canada for this year; but its bulwarks were fallen, and the heroes who defended it could only immortalize its approaching ruin.[2]

Everywhere England displayed that persevering activity which repaired past repulses and commenced triumphs. The French possessions in Africa were attacked in the spring of 1758. The French, whose factories extended along the Senegal three hundred leagues inland, had monopolized the gum-trade, and gained full preponderance on the coast of Guinea. An English expedition seized St. Louis in Senegal in the month of April. It was at first repulsed from the Island of Goree; but the attack was renewed in December with superior forces. Goree capitulated, and the French flag disappeared from this coast.

Events of far greater scope were transpiring in India. It is necessary to resume these events, full of thrilling and bitter interest to us, from the time of Dupleix's departure. This man seemed even greater absent than present, and every thing manifested in his absence the greatness and correctness of his designs. The shameful treaty of Godeheu had not been fully executed, either in consequence of the news from Europe and America, or because the English had violated it almost as soon as concluded by intervening in the Madura in behalf of their nabob of the Carnatic. Bussi remained, therefore, in the Deccan. It was the most important point, and every thing might still have been repaired. The year 1756 offered the French the most admirable opportunity to resume the plans of Dupleix. The Mogul Subahdar of Bengal, having quarrelled with the English, besieged and took Calcutta by assault, and expelled them from all Bengal (June, 1756). One of the three English presidencies of Hindostan, the one best situated for commerce and political action, was thus annihilated. The English East-India Company resolved on a last effort to recover Calcutta, and reëstablish its influence in Bengal. Clive was placed at the head of an armed expedition to Madras. Clive returned, and Dupleix gone,—it was the emblem of the fortune

[1] The English rebuilt it, and gave it the name of *Pittsburg* (the town of Pitt).

[2] Garneau, t. III. ch. iii.; Sainte-Croix, t. II. pp. 263–267; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 180; Continuation of Hume, book xxix.

of the two rival nations. The English squadron entered the Ganges at the close of the year, and retook Calcutta as early as January 2, 1757. The subahdar hastened thither with a body of troops, and entreated the assistance of the French at Chandernagore; but the spirit of Godeheu ruled among the agents of the company. The council of Chandernagore, although it knew that war was declared between France and England, still cherished the imbecile hope of the neutrality of India. Instead of supporting the Moguls, it agreed with Clive reciprocally to interdict all hostility in Bengal. The subahdar made peace with the English, and restored to them their factories and privileges. Clive then returned to attack Chandernagore, without caring for the agreement of neutrality. The English squadron brought its broadside to bear within pistol-shot of the ramparts, which it levelled with its fire. It was necessary to capitulate (March 14). The French, in their turn, were expelled from Bengal.

This was to Clive only a starting-point. As unscrupulous towards the Moguls as towards the French, he fomented a rebellion against the subahdar of Bengal, quarrelled with him, defeated him, overthrew him, and replaced him by the leader of the revolt (the end of June). Thenceforth Bengal belonged to the English. This was really the foundation of the English empire in India. Clive had comprehended and applied the system of Dupleix in behalf of England. Nothing was settled, however, so long as Bussi remained in the Deccan. At this very moment, summoned too late to the assistance of the Subahdar of Bengal, he took from the English Visingapatam, Madapollam, and their other factories on the coast of Orissa, and rendered himself the complete master of the maritime provinces which had been given him as fiefs by the Subahdar of the Deccan, and which separate Bengal from the coast of Coromandel.

Hostilities had recommenced in the Carnatic from 1756 to 1757. The French received in the summer of 1757 some reënforcements, which gave them the superiority, owing to the departure of Clive. They took several forts in the suburbs of Arcot and of Madras itself. Machault, before falling from the ministry, had prevailed upon the government to despatch a squadron to India. This squadron, which quitted Brest in May, 1757, did not reach the coast of the Carnatic till the end of April, 1758. It brought a new governor. Instead of sending back Dupleix, or choosing Bussi, the government despatched thither the Count de Lally-Tollendal, the son of an Irish refugee, a very brave officer, but devoid of all political talent,

absolutely ignorant of Indian affairs, and too stubborn and headstrong to take the pains to learn them. His system was that of La Bourdonnais, impaired by ignorance and obstinacy, — to apply himself exclusively to the destruction of the English settlements, with a brutal contempt for all diplomacy and for all native alliances. To this man were granted the resources which Dupleix never had at his disposal from 1747 to 1754. Lally was able to act on land and sea. He began by laying siege to St. David, while the squadron, under command of the Count d'Aché, engaged in a naval battle with the English who had returned from the Ganges. The English had seven ships of from fifty to sixty-six guns; the French, five ships of from fifty to seventy-four guns, and three frigates of from thirty-six to forty-four guns.[1] The French lost more men; but the English vessels suffered more (April 29, 1758). The French attained their end, since their adversaries were unable to molest the siege of St. David, which surrendered June 1. Devicotta also opened its gates.

It was a glorious beginning. Dupleix, for want of vessels, had lately failed in an attack on St. David; but the conduct of Lally towards the natives already endangered his military successes, and even the existence of the colony. He trampled under foot the customs of the race of all others most devoted to its traditions. In default of horses and oxen, he harnessed indiscriminately to his wagons and guns kshatriyas and sudras, Brahmins and pariahs. He demolished a celebrated pagoda, and broke its statues in search of imaginary treasures. Some of the Brahmins having returned to wander round their profaned temple, he took them for English spies, and caused them to be blown from the muzzles of the guns. The Hindoos, seized with horror, abandoned Pondicherry in a body, and fled to a distance thenceforth as soon they perceived the French.

Their desertion caused the failure of an expedition of Lally against Tanjore (July–August). At the moment of this repulse, Lally had just dealt an irreparable blow to the French power in India. He had recalled Bussi from the Deccan with the greater part of his troops, and had replaced him, in the circars of Orissa, by one of his creatures. It was the second act of the fall of Dupleix, and the disappearance of the last chance of France. The news of this act of madness was received by the English with boundless joy.

[1] Almost all these vessels belonged to the Indian Company.

followed him. In a few moments the rear guard of the English was broken, cut to pieces, or driven into the sea. It cost them, at least, three thousand men.

This successful conflict somewhat consoled French self-love, but did not compensate for our losses. Our maritime commerce was annihilated.[1]

The folly of the policy of Versailles was manifest to all eyes. The minister of foreign affairs, the Abbé de Bernis, was terrified at the misfortunes into which he had contributed to precipitate France. As early as the defeat of Rosbach, he had told the King frankly that it was impossible to continue the double continental and maritime war, and that France had neither generals nor money. He finally wrung from Louis a permission to negotiate. From that time, he was ruined in the favor of Madame de Pompadour. The favorite played the Roman heroine in the recesses of her alcove, and prided herself on remaining inflexible in her designs, in spite of the public wretchedness. An ambitious and enterprising spirit profited by this feeling to supplant Bernis. The Count de Stainville, of the House of Choiseul, had gained the favor of Madame de Pompadour by causing the failure of an intrigue, plotted by one of her relatives, to replace the Marchioness with the King. The grateful Marchioness had made Stainville ambassador to Rome, then to Vienna. He saw the Marchioness and *her friend* the Empress alike dissatisfied with the resolution to negotiate: he maintained that nothing rendered this necessary, and that resources could be found to continue the war. Madame de Pompadour, persuaded in advance, easily persuaded the King. Bernis received almost at the same time his dismissal, and the cardinal's hat as a consolation (November 1); and Stainville was summoned to Versailles to enter the ministry of foreign affairs. The King created him duke and peer, under the title of the Duke de Choiseul.[2]

This ministerial revolution was destined to have greater scope and duration than the preceding ones. The diplomatist who attained to power through the objectionable means of Madame de Pompadour and Austria, was, nevertheless, any thing but a vulgar intriguer. The Lorraine origin of his family, hereditarily devoted to the ancestors of the husband of Maria Theresa, in some degree excused

[1] *Mém. de Duclos*, p. 650; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 187; *Mercure historiq.*, t. CXLIV. p. 832, CXLV. pp. 31, 281, 383; Smollett, book xxviii.

[2] *Mém. de Duclos*, p. 631; *Mém. de madame du Hausset*, p. 82; Notice on Bernis by the Cardinal de Brienne, appended to Madame du Hausset, p. 203.

Peint par Vauchelet — Gravé par Queverdo

Choiseul-Stainville (Jacques, Marquis de)
Maréchal de France le 13 Juin 1783-1784.

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his first political bias. He was a singular character, a mixture of frivolity, rashness, penetration, and sometimes even profundity. With a mind full of brilliancy and fascination, and a lively and active intellect, devoid of principles and beliefs, he supplied the lack of morality, so far as it could be supplied, by loftiness of courage, and hatred of whatever was base and mediocre: he sincerely desired the regeneration of France, provided that it were by his hand. He would have been a remarkable man anywhere: before the pygmies of the court of Louis XV., he was a kind of great man. It is surprising that Louis XV., so malevolent towards all superior minds, should have accepted a man, who, from his entrance into the council, was a prime minister, in fact, under Queen Pompadour. The suspicion that Bernis aimed to become prime minister had contributed, quite as much as his opposition to the war, to decide his fall.

Choiseul signed, as his initiation-fee, a new secret treaty with Austria (December 30, 1758). Bernis had recently obtained the reduction of one-half of the subsidy promised by France to Maria Theresa. This subsidy was fixed at two hundred and eighty-eight thousand florins per month; France engaging to continue to keep one hundred thousand men on foot in Germany, besides paying alone both the Saxon corps in the service of the allies and the subsidy of the Swedes. It was agreed that Wesel, Geldern, and the countries conquered from the King of Prussia in Lower Germany, should be administered in the name of the Empress-Queen; that is, that the French conquests on the Lower Rhine should belong to Austria! The rest confirmed the previous compacts.[1]

This beginning seemed to announce that the protégé of the Emperor Francis of Lorraine and Maria Theresa would servilely follow the beaten track pursued by the government of France. It was not so. The engagements that had just been renewed with Austria were fulfilled: but Choiseul had comprehended the absurdity of the hopes founded on the invasion of Hanover, should it finally succeed; and, while continuing the war in the west of Germany, he embraced the bold project of grappling with England, and attacking her at home,—a project which Machault had been the first to conceive, and which was extolled by the Marshal de Belle-Isle. The success of a descent, effected with all the forces that France could concentrate, appeared to him less improbable than that of a war, pursued at a distance, on the seas,

[1] *Mém. de Duclos*, p. 688; Wenck, t. III. p. 185.

with squadrons almost everywhere inferior by one-half to those of the enemy.

From the beginning of 1759, great preparations were made in our ports on the ocean and the Channel. Numerous flat-boats, designed for the transportation of troops, were built at Dunkirk, Havre, Brest, and Rochefort. Two strong squadrons, fitted out at Toulon and Brest, were to unite to convoy the expedition, or rather the expeditions; for it was projected to make a descent at once in Scotland and in England. The design was admirable; but to what hands was its execution to be confided! The Duke d'Aiguillon, the victor, despite himself, at St. Cas, was to lead the twelve or fifteen thousand men destined for Scotland; and the vanquished of Rosbach, Soubise, was to command, by favor of Madame de Pompadour, the fifty thousand conquerors of England. We shall soon see the value of the commander of the fleet of Brest, the Count de Conflans, who had recently been made Marshal of France, apparently because the title of vice-admiral was not worthy of him. Choiseul might have dreamed of great things; but he was not permitted to choose the instruments capable of realizing them: what would have been only audacious in another situation, became insane.

Choiseul, meanwhile, passionately pursued his idea, and strove to secure the coöperation of the maritime States. There was no means of drawing in the timid Holland, irritated though she was at the acts of violence of England against her merchant-shipping. He succeeded no better with Spain, even by the offer of Minorca. The policy of Ferdinand VI., absolutely opposed to that of his father, and especially of his step-mother, the famous Elizabeth Farnese, was peace and neutrality. Mr. Pitt had, on his side, uselessly offered to restore Gibraltar to Spain if she would aid England in recovering Minorca. Choiseul hoped to be more successful with Russia and Sweden, who, both pledged to the French alliance on the continent, concluded, at this very moment, a remarkable compact to insure peace in the Baltic.[1] Choiseul was

[1] March 9, 1759. — Both powers engaged to oppose whomsoever might attempt to disturb maritime commerce. They prohibited nothing but what was contraband of war, and commerce with Prussian ports *actually* blockaded. With this exception, the commerce of Prussian subjects was not to be disturbed, or their merchandise captured; that is to say, *privateering* was interdicted. This was the most advanced treaty with respect to the rights of nations that had yet been made. Both powers agreed to unite their squadrons to interdict all entrance to the Baltic to foreign men-of-war. Denmark and France were to be invited to accede. Denmark acceded March 17, 1760. — *Recueil de Martens*, t. X. pp. 36, 42.

very desirous that twelve thousand Russians and twelve thousand Swedes should make a descent in Scotland; but Russia was by no means willing to enter into direct conflict with England, who kept her in a state of commercial dependence by buying her raw materials. Sweden was in the same position with respect to the iron and lumber trade. The president of the Swedish senate, who had been the real head of the government since the humiliation of the royalty, gave Choiseul hopes, but protracted the affair. Meanwhile the fate of Choiseul's plans was decided.[1]

The English did not await in their ports the threatened invasion. At the beginning of July, one of the five squadrons which they kept simultaneously on our coasts bombarded Havre, but without much damage, and without succeeding in burning the transports.[2] A larger squadron, in the month of June, had unsuccessfully threatened the roadstead and coast of Toulon. Maltreated by the coast batteries, it retired to Gibraltar for repairs. The French squadron of Toulon, commanded by M. de La Clue, neglected to take advantage of this opportunity to attempt the crossing of the strait, and did not cross it until the night of August 16–17. Whether from bad management, or from fatality, five of its twelve vessels separated from the rest, and anchored before Cadiz. The seven remaining ships, which had put farther out to sea, were followed and attacked the next day by the squadron of Gibraltar, fourteen ships strong, under the command of Boscawen. The captain of the *Centaure*, M. de Sabran, sacrificed himself to give the admiral time to effect his retreat: he fought for several hours alone against five ships, and surrendered only when sinking. This devotion did not save the squadron. The flagship had suffered greatly in the battle: three of the other vessels were slower sailers than the English. Overtaken by the enemy on the following morning, they stranded on the coast of Algarve. The English, without respecting either the law of nations or the neutrality of Portugal, which they were accustomed to treat as a vassal, attacked these ships under the guns of the Portuguese forts, burned two, and carried off the two others.

Despite this grave repulse, the cabinet of Versailles did not wholly abandon its designs: it renounced the great army of Soubise, but not the expedition of the Duke d'Aiguillon, which was to proceed to Scotland, by the way of St. George's Channel, under

[1] Flassan, t. VI. p. 146, *et seq.*

[2] *Archives du Havre*, t. I. p. 262, *et seq.*, ap. a manuscript journal by M. Millot, first alderman of Havre.

the protection of the fleet from Brest; while a small squadron, setting sail from Dunkirk, was to make a diversion in Ireland by the way of the north of Scotland. This project might have been effectual, had the troops and the transports been combined with the fleet in the roadstead of Brest; but the selfish vanity of the Duke d'Aiguillon had retained them in Morbihan, where he had the chief command, while at Brest he would have been subordinate to the Marshal de Conflans. The fleet, therefore, was obliged to go in search of the convoy. Despite this loss of time, Conflans might perhaps have succeeded by taking advantage of the tempest, which, at the beginning of November, dispersed the enemy's fleet that was cruising before Brest; but he did not set sail from Brest until the 14th. On the 20th, he was overtaken by Admiral Hawke off Belle-Isle. Conflans had twenty-one ships against twenty-three. There was nothing else to do than to meet the attack valiantly. He sought to avoid it by passing through the Cardinal Shoals, and entering with his fleet into the bay, full of islets and breakers, that forms the mouth of the Vilaine. Admiral Hawke, who was to the windward, intrepidly followed the French, at the risk of being destroyed with them in this species of maritime defiles. The commander of the French rear guard, Saint-André du Verger, repeated the devotion of the brave Sabran. He suffered destruction in order to arrest the enemy, and rendered himself illustrious by a glorious death. His crew were almost all killed when the flag was struck. The French ships, tossed about amidst the rocks by a tempestuous sea, ran against each other, without being able to manœuvre. Two were sunk: two more were wrecked on the reefs. Night suspended the disaster. At daybreak, Conflans stranded and burned his flag-ship and another vessel in the Bay of Croisic. Two English ships were lost on the sand-banks in attempting to pursue Conflans. The French advance guard, seven ships strong, had scarcely joined in the engagement, and might have avenged Saint-André, and repaired the disgrace of Conflans. Its leader, Beaufremont, thought only of making his escape, and took refuge at Rochefort. Another division of seven ships, by favor of the high tide, entered the Vilaine, which it had not been thought possible for frigates to penetrate: it saved itself in this manner, but could not go out again. The English resumed before the Vilaine and the Charente the blockade that they had maintained before Brest.

This deplorable catastrophe consummated the humiliation of France: the fleet, the honor of which had been until then intact,

fell to the level of the army. The corruption, effeminacy, and selfishness of the court had invaded the maritime after the military nobility.

The little squadron of Dunkirk had set out a month before the disaster of the Vilaine, under the command of an ex-privateer named Thurot, greatly dreaded by English commerce. This intrepid mariner, after divers adventures, effected his descent in Ireland in February, 1760, and took the town of Carrickfergus. It was truly a despairing blow, which could do nothing but sacrifice brave men. Thurot was killed, and his little squadron captured.[1]

The cabinet of Versailles, bending under these decisive reverses, renounced all maritime undertakings. Stroke after stroke of the saddest intelligence came from America.

There had been hitherto in the West Indies only a privateer warfare, greatly to the advantage of the French, with a few encounters of squadrons, without marked success on either side. In the middle of January, 1759, an English squadron of ten ships of the line, escorting an expedition of six thousand soldiers, attacked Martinique, the richest of the French Lesser Antilles, and the most important through its central position and its numerous and intrepid ship-owners. The English landed without much difficulty. The island was in a very bad posture of defence: nevertheless, a first attack against a height that overlooks Fort Royal having been repulsed by a body of militia destitute even of artillery, the English suddenly renounced their design, and reëmbarked to attack Guadeloupe (January 23, 24), where they were more successful. Their bomb-ketches reduced the town of Basse-Terre to ashes. They landed, and found the citadel abandoned. The Governor of Guadeloupe showed as little energy as talent; but the inhabitants supplied the deficiency. This brave population profited by the numerous accidents of ground offered by its island, and obstinately defended every hill, every defile, and every torrent. The struggle was prolonged for three whole months. The least assistance would have compelled the invaders to retreat. A squadron of nine ships had arrived at Martinique from Brest in the month of March: it remained there motionless for more than a month, and did not appear in sight of Guadeloupe until April 21. The inhabitants, driven from post to post, and reduced to extreme want, had capitulated that very day!

[1] *Mercure historiq.* t. CXLVII. pp. 298, 384; Sainte-Croix, t. II. p. 278 and documents; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 204; *Mém. de Duclos*, p. 658.

Desirade, Les Saintes, Petite-Terre, and Marie Galante followed the destiny of Guadeloupe.[1]

While Guadeloupe succumbed, the campaign reopened in Canada. The winter had passed away full of sombre presages for this valiant colony. To all its calamities was added discord, the too usual companion of misfortune. The general complained of the governor, the governor of the general: the latter too much accustomed, perhaps, to the regular wars of Europe, and not taking sufficiently into account the nature of the colonial elements, but, moreover, as upright and firm in mind as in heart; the former lacking the enlightenment and firmness necessary against the enormous abuses that fettered a defence already so difficult. Personally honest and sincere, M. de Vaudreuil was blinded by the intendant Bigot, who, leagued with the commissary-general and a whole faction of peculators, had built up, from year to year, his scandalous fortune and that of his accomplices on the public ruin. The waste had increased beyond measure, since, in 1757, the provisioning of the army, formerly under the direct administration of the government, had been put up for contract; that is, monopoly. The letters of exchange drawn on France threatened to amount to thirty millions for 1759. The expenses of Canada had already attained this sum the preceding year.[2] Meanwhile, without powerful assistance in soldiers, munitions, and vessels, the loss of Canada in this very campaign was imminent, as General Montcalm had explicitly announced to the minister of war in a long and sad letter, which was, so to speak, his testament and the testament of the colony.[3]

The ministry responded to this despairing appeal by utter abandonment. Choiseul was absorbed in his descent on England, and thought to save Canada at London. A letter from the minister of war, Belle-Isle, which crossed that of Montcalm on the way, is one of the most painful mementoes of those days of shame and delirium.

"I am very sorry to be obliged to send you word that you must

[1] *Mercure historiq.* t. CXLVII. p. 43; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 196; Continuation of Hume, book xxxi.

[2] Garneau, t. III. pp. 80, 282. The dearness of provisions in a country in which cultivation was almost abandoned must doubtless be taken into account in explaining so great an amount; but, according to Montcalm, the contractors made from a hundred to a hundred and fifty per cent profit. — See in Dussieux, *Le Canada sous la domination française*, p. 75, *et seq.*, the extracts from the correspondence of Montcalm, the commissary of war, Du Doreil, etc., who were unable to succeed in obtaining the recall of Bigot, supported by a powerful accomplice in the very cabinet of the minister.

[3] This letter, of April 12, 1759, is in the archives of the marine.

Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

JEFFERY, FIRST LORD AMHERST.

OB. 1797.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL AMHERST.

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not hope for any reënforcements of troops. Besides the fact that they would increase the dearth of provisions which you have experienced only too much hitherto, there is great reason to fear that they would be intercepted by the English on the way; and, as the King could never send you assistance in proportion to the forces which the English are in a condition to oppose to you, the efforts that might be made here to procure them for you would have no other effect than to incite the ministry at London to make still greater ones to preserve the superiority which it has acquired on that part of the continent" (February 19, 1759).

In other despatches, the ministry even anticipated the event that the colony might be compelled to capitulate, and appeared to be resigned to it.[1]

The heroic Canadian population, abandoned by the mother-country, for which it immolated itself, did not think for a moment of laying down its arms. It rose in silence to the last man. The enemy was advancing from every side. In the preceding October, a treaty adroitly arranged by the leaders of the Anglo-Americans had deprived France of the greater part of her Indian allies: the *red-skins*, foreseeing the ruin of Canada, had not thought it incumbent on them to wait for the catastrophe to accept peace with the future conquerors. The change of attitude of the Indians gave great facilities for the invasion, for which preparations were made by four routes at once. Twenty ships of the line, and numerous transports escorting a convoy of ten thousand regular troops, under General Wolfe, a young man full of fire and energy, set sail from Louisburg, and ascended the St. Lawrence to Quebec. Twelve thousand soldiers and militia, under the commander-in-chief Amherst, moved to Lake George, from which they were to descend by Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence. A third Anglo-Indian corps, under General Prideaux, was to take Niagara, and to march thence to Montreal to join the two others on the St. Lawrence. A fourth and weaker corps was commissioned to expel the French from Lake Ontario. All these made at least thirty thousand land forces and eighteen thousand soldiers and marines. Canada numbered scarcely five thousand soldiers and fifteen thousand inhabitants able to bear arms; that is, by arming the old men of sixty and the children of sixteen, less than one-third of the invading force!

Feeble detachments were despatched to the principal points of

[1] Garneau, t. III. p. 153; Report to the Minister on the Letters of Governor Vaudreuil, December 28, 1758; Manuscript in the Archives of the Marine.

the frontier; and the main body of the army was concentrated at Quebec, the principal aim of the enemy. All the male population came thither, abandoning their fields at the risk of dying of famine: the women and young children transported the provisions and munitions. By a supreme effort, thirteen or fourteen thousand men had been collected, three thousand of whom were regular troops and a few hundred Indians who remained faithful. The army posted itself on the left bank of the St. Lawrence, between the falls of the River Montmorency, which precipitates itself into the St. Lawrence by a leap of two hundred and sixty feet, and the valley of the River St. Charles, whence it protected the island from the river, on the eastern promontory of which Quebec is situated. The English fleet appeared before Quebec, June 25. It had avoided the banks and low grounds of the river, owing to the treason of a prisoner, an officer of the navy, who had served it as pilot. His name was Denis de Vitré. This was the only traitor that Canada produced.

The French endeavored in vain to burn the enemy's fleet with fire-ships and blazing rafts. The English succeeded better in burning Quebec: not daring to attack either the town or the camp in front, they made a descent upon the right bank of the St. Lawrence, and from there overwhelmed the town with their bombs, and devastated the distant country, — useless barbarities, which could not decide the fate of the war. They attempted again to reascend the river above Quebec in order to turn Montcalm's position. The breadth of the arm of the St. Lawrence between the right bank and the Island of Quebec permitted their fleet to pass, despite the batteries of the town; but they deemed the disembarkation in the rear of the French camp too difficult, and returned to the not less perilous plan of an attack in front. Protected by formidable artillery, they undertook to land on the left of the camp, and to force the fords of the Montmorency above and below the Great Fall. They were everywhere repulsed with loss (July 31). The carbines of our Canadian hunters triumphed over their cannon. General Wolfe despaired of success, and fell ill of chagrin.

The other English generals were more fortunate, and triumphed without glory through prodigious superiority of numbers. Twenty-six hundred French, that were defending Lakes George and Champlain against twelve thousand of the enemy, were compelled to blow up the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and to fall back to the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, where they

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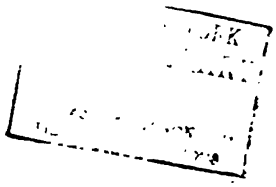


Drawn by

Major General,

JAMES WOLFE.

FROM A SCARCE CONTEMPORARY PRINT ENGRAVED BY R. HOUSTON

arrested General Amherst. A few hundred more saw themselves constrained to surrender the fort at Niagara after the little garrisons of the posts on the Great Lakes had been overpowered in attempting to succor them (July 25). All Ontario was in the power of the enemy.

A few troops were detached from the army of Quebec to support the handful of men that were defending the upper part of the St. Lawrence. Many of the Canadians, believing that Quebec was saved for this year, had returned to reap their harvests. The enemy, however, was preparing for a new effort. The lieutenants of Wolfe had advised him to attempt for the second time a disembarkation on the left bank, above the city. The English fleet again ascended the river several leagues. Montcalm detached Bougainville with three thousand men to observe the movements of the enemy. During the night of September 12–13, the English fleet suddenly fell back on Quebec, and landed the army in Foulon Bay, a quarter of a league above the city. The English scaled the precipices which had been thought inaccessible, and surprised our outposts. Montcalm hastened from the camp with only forty-five hundred men: it had been necessary to leave the camp supplied with troops, and Bougainville was at a distance. Montcalm charged on the English in order not to leave them time to intrench themselves. This precipitate attack made no impression on a body of from nine to ten thousand regular troops. The two generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, fell almost simultaneously, mortally wounded.[1] The French were driven back to the city. Colonel Bougainville, afterwards famous as a navigator,[2] returned too late to change the fate of the day: the council of war judged it impossible to renew the battle. The camp was evacuated, and the army fell back in the direction of the Three Rivers, leaving a garrison in Quebec. Three days after, by the entreaty of the principal lieutenant of Montcalm,—the Chevalier de Lévis, who had hastened from Montreal,—it moved forward, and was almost in sight of Quebec, when it learned that the commander had just capitulated, contrary to his instructions (September 18).

The Franco-Canadians retired to the River Jacques-Cartier. Nothing remained to them of this immense Canada but the coun-

[1] A granite obelisk is to be seen at Quebec, on the sides of which are engraved the names of Wolfe and Montcalm, with the following inscription: *Mortem virtus, communem famam historia, monumentum posteritas dedit.* (Their courage gave them the same death, history the same renown, posterity the same monument.)

[2] The two great navigators, Cooke and Bougainville, were found opposed to other in this campaign.

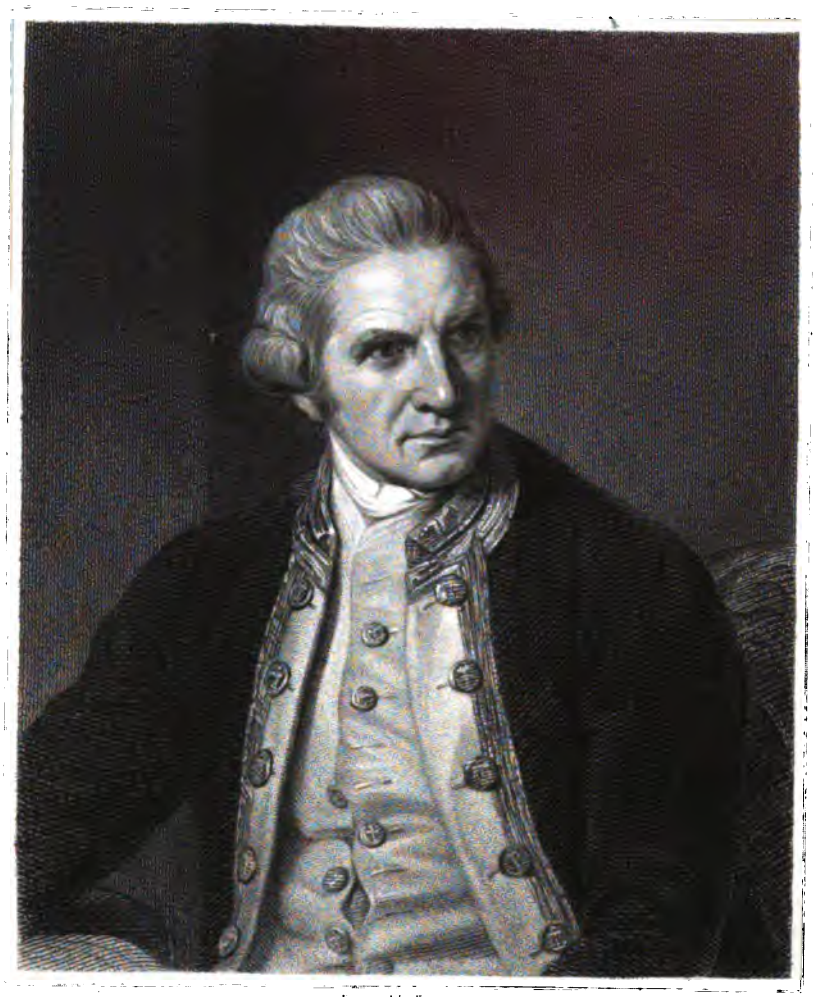
try enclosed between the north of Lake Champlain, the east of Lake Ontario, and the Three Rivers.

They did not dream of negotiating. They raised their voice for the last time to the mother-country. Three or four vessels loaded with munitions were sent them, which were taken by the English, and their letters of exchange were not paid. The government owed them more than forty millions!

Three armies were about to close in upon and overpower them. They anticipated the stroke by a sudden attack on Quebec. The winter had given them some months' respite. April 20, 1760, as soon as the St. Lawrence had begun to thaw a little, General de Lévis moved by land and water with seven thousand men. On the 25th, his little army assembled on the left bank: it crossed the River Cape Rouge by a skilful manœuvre, and forced the English outposts to fall back. The commandant of Quebec, General Murray, rapidly moved forward with six thousand soldiers and twenty-two guns, and attacked the French on the march, and without their artillery, which was in the rear with a reserve. M. de Lévis formed his troops under a murderous fire, broke the English, utterly routed them, and took their guns (April 28). Had not the French been worn out with fatigue, they would probably have entered Quebec pell-mell with their enemies. They were forced to undertake a siege, with field-pieces as their only resource against the powerful artillery of the ramparts. The Canadians imagined that artillery was about to be sent them from France, and kept their eyes constantly turned towards the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The vessels that appeared were English (May 9–15).

The siege was raised; all was lost. The Canadians prolonged the struggle some months longer. Two hundred men shut up in Fort Lévis, on the upper part of the St. Lawrence, arrested for twelve days the eleven thousand soldiers of General Amherst! The three armies of the enemy joined each other at length, September 6–8, before Montreal, an almost defenceless place, in which were concentrated the wrecks of Canada. September 8, 1760, the capitulation was signed which effaced New France from the map of the globe. The Canadians kept their property and their religion, and acknowledged themselves subjects of the King of England. The principal inhabitants expatriated themselves with the three thousand soldiers and sailors that were sent back to France.

Thus fell this race of men whom the habit of living in the bosom of the rugged Nature of the North had rendered as strong and



Engraved by E. Scriven

CAPTAIN COOK

From an original Picture by Dance in the Gallery of Greenwich Hospital

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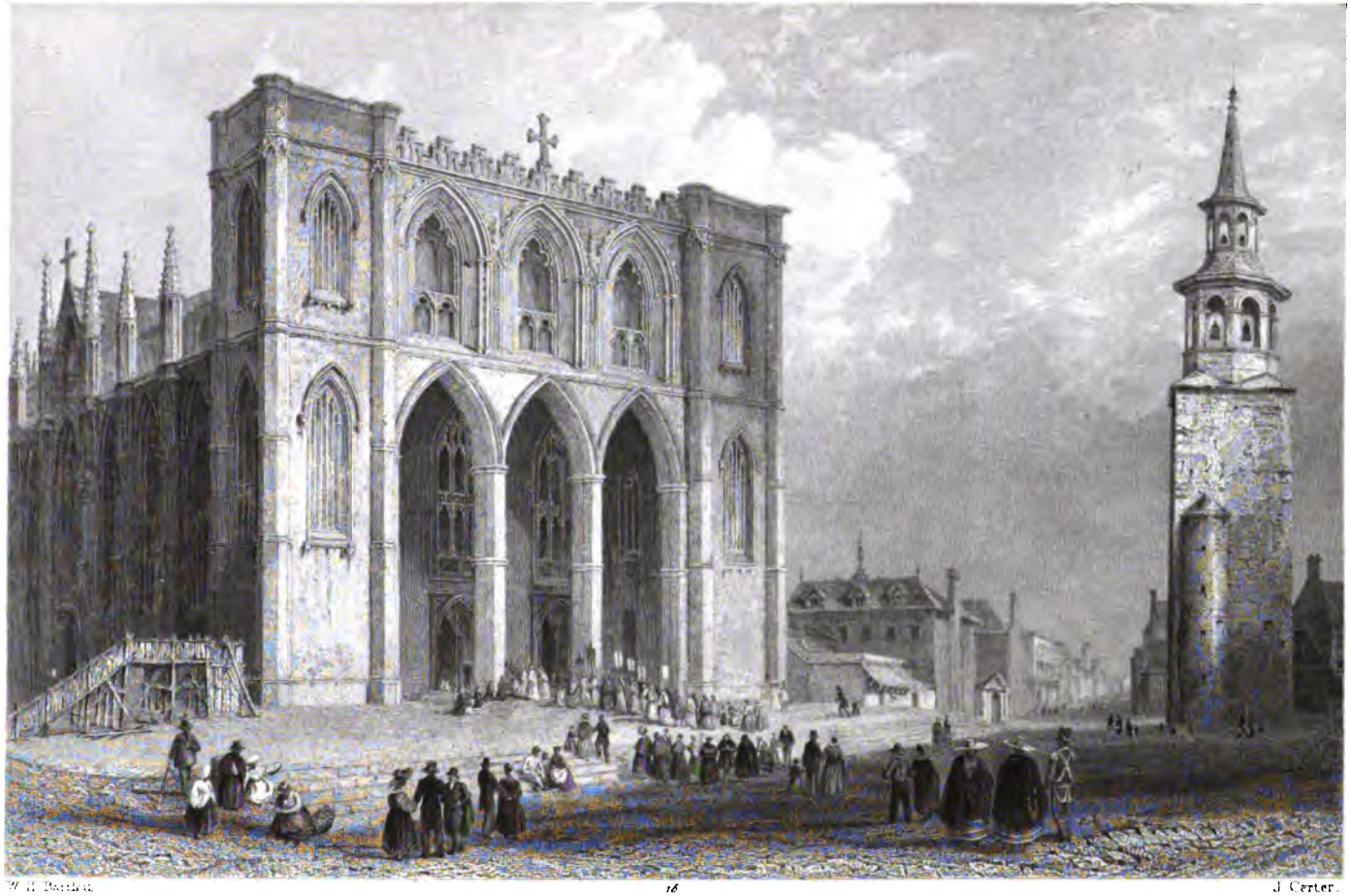

W. H. Bartlett. 16 J. Carter.

The Cathedral, Montreal.

simple as the ancients. In India there were a few great men to be admired: here it was a whole people that was great. The monarchy had neither known how to develop Canada nor to defend it. The fall of Canada, celebrated by the English with such enthusiasm, prepared avengers for the vanquished in their own conquerors: the expansion which it gave to the power and pride of the Anglo-Americans ripened them for independence. The fall of New France gave a world to England, but gave it to her only for a little while.[1]

It is painful to tear ourselves from the spectacle of these glorious misfortunes to return to the mad continental war which had been their cause.

Westphalia and Hesse were annually swallowing up thousands of our soldiers, without our being further advanced at the end of the campaign than at the beginning; the superiority of the enemy's generals compensating for the numerical superiority of our troops. At the close of 1758, the principal French army had remained on the Lower Rhine; the other corps, on the Lower Main. Towards spring, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick sought to profit by this separation to overpower the smaller and more advanced of the two armies, and fell with all his forces upon the French encamped at Bergen, opposite Frankfort. Soubise no longer commanded the army of Hesse: he had been recalled to take command of the *army of England*. His successor, the lieutenant-general Duke de Broglie, had chosen an excellent position; and Ferdinand of Brunswick was repulsed with considerable loss, although he had greatly the advantage in numbers. This was the first check that he had experienced in person (April 13, 1759).

This beginning was promising: the government seemed to desire to support it. The Marshal de Contades took command of the two French armies united, invaded Hesse, and moved to the Weser to cut off the army of the enemy from Hanover. Ferdinand of Bruns-

[1] Garneau, *Hist. du Canada*, t. III. liv. x. — We do not quit without emotion this *History of Canada*, which has come to us from the other hemisphere as a living testimony of the sentiments and traditions preserved among the French of the New World after a century of foreign rule. May the genius of our race continue to subsist among our brethren of Canada in their future destinies, whatever may be their relations with the great Anglo-American federation, and preserve a place in America for the French element! — See also Dussieux, *le Canada sous la domination française*, liv. iii., xlvi.–l. A grand-nephew of Montcalm, the Marquis d'Espeuilles, has collected documents concerning the life of his grand-uncle and the whole Canadian war, the publication of which will be highly interesting, and among which figures a journal written by Bougainville. — Continuation of Hume, book xxxi.; *Mercure historiq.* t. CXLVI.–CXLIX.; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 199.

wick hastened to post himself in front of the French, near Minden, and strove to make them attack him. Contades, much superior in fact to the enemy, descended to the plain. Ferdinand had caused the village of Todtenhausen, a little too far in advance of his lines, to be intrenched, and occupied by an infantry corps. Had the Duke de Broglie, the commander of the right wing, executed Contades' instructions, and attacked the village at daybreak, he would probably have carried it, and have greatly endangered Ferdinand; but Broglie hesitated, pretended that the whole army of the enemy was behind Todtenhausen, and went in quest of new instructions. Contades, a cabinet general without quickness of perception or decision, lost time in deliberating. The enemy, meanwhile, advanced, formed, and took the offensive against the other wing and the centre of the French. The French cavalry, confusedly precipitated forward, without unity, and in such a way as to mask our guns, were put to rout by the fire of the enemy's infantry and artillery. Part of our infantry was broken in turn. Contades ordered a retreat (August 1). The alleged cause of the defeat was worse than the defeat itself. Contades accused Broglie of having voluntarily caused him to lose the battle by not attacking in time; and, unhappily, the accusation was not absolutely absurd: it is certain at least that Broglie aimed at supplanting his superior, and that he succeeded. In this almost universal demoralization, the selfish ambition of generals might well have terrible results: already the Count de Maillebois had been strongly suspected of having sought to cause the Marshal d'Estrées to lose the battle of Hastenbeck.[1]

Contades, discouraged, made no effort to repair his repulse, abandoned almost all Westphalia and Hesse, and did not pause until behind the Lahn, near Giessen, almost at the point from which he had set out. Ferdinand of Brunswick was able at his ease to detach large bodies of troops, who defeated the Würtembergers, the allies of France and Austria, and went to the assistance of the King of Prussia.[2]

Frederick had been less successful than Ferdinand: his genius and strength seemed exhausted in the colossal struggle that he

[1] Neither was this criminal jealousy unknown in the enemy's army. Lord Sackville, the general of the Anglo-Hanoverian cavalry, was accused of having prevented Prince Ferdinand from completing his victory by not executing the order to charge the French in their retreat. Lord Sackville was recalled, and degraded by a council of war.

[2] Frederick II., *Guerre de Sept Ans*, t. II. ch. x.; *Mém. de Napoléon*, t. VII.; *Précis*, etc., ch. v.; *Mém de Rochambeau*, p. 130.

was sustaining. Posted in the spring on the confines of Brandenburg and Silesia, between the Russians quartered in Poland and the Austrians wintered in Bohemia, he had made no attempt to compel the Austrians to fight before the Russians reëntered the field. In July, the Russians concentrated at Posen, and moved forward. The Austrians entered Lusatia in order to assist the Russians in Brandenburg. July 23, the Prussian army corps that was confronting the Russians experienced a defeat between Züllichau and Crossen. Frederick left the main body of his army of Silesia with his brother, Henry of Prussia, and hastened with a reënforcement to join the defeated army, but could not prevent the Austrian general Laudon from carrying to the Russian, Soltikoff, a large corps detached from the army of Daun. The King of Prussia, nevertheless, attacked more than eighty thousand men with from forty to forty-five thousand. He flanked and forced a part of the Russian positions, with a terrible massacre of their infantry; then failed before another post defended by the Austrian, Laudon: the Russians rallied, and the Prussians were broken and utterly routed (August 13). By Frederick's own confession, Prussia would have been lost at that moment, had the Russians known how to profit by their costly victory of Kunnersdorf. Happily for the Prussians, Soltikoff declared that he had done enough, and that it was Marshal Daun's turn to sacrifice his Austrians. Soltikoff knew the passionate admiration of the heir presumptive of Russia, the Grand Duke, for the King of Prussia, and feared making an irreconcilable enemy of his future master should he cause the destruction of the great Frederick.

The Austrians did not altogether waste their time: reënforced by the contingents of the Empire, they retook almost all Saxony, and finally Dresden, September 3; but they did not make a diversion against Berlin, as they might have done, while Frederick was rallying before the Russians the remains of his army. Soltikoff operated so tamely in Brandenburg, Lusatia, and Silesia, that Frederick, with a handful of soldiers, forced him at last to return to Poland to winter, without keeping a single Prussian place.

The army of Silesia, meanwhile, sought to recover Saxony from the Austrians. Frederick repaired thither in November, and threw a corps of eighteen thousand men upon the rear of Daun to disquiet him concerning his communications, and oblige him to return to Bohemia. The Prussian corps, which ventured much too far from the King's line of operations, was hemmed in by thirty or forty thousand Austrians, and laid down its arms in a

body, like the Saxons latterly at Pirna (November 20). This disaster secured to the Austrians Dresden and half of Saxony; but Frederick, succored in time by a strong detachment from the Hanoverian army, intrepidly quartered himself in front of the enemy in the heart of the country which was disputed with him.

It seemed impossible for Frederick to sustain another similar campaign without succumbing. Though his courage remained unshaken, his body was becoming worn out by this terrible life, and his kingdom was wearing out like his person. It is difficult to comprehend how he succeeded in reorganizing his army each year, and, above all, in subsisting it.

Thus, by the mockery of fate, the Austrian war, of which the French monarchy had made itself the auxiliary, appeared destined finally to succeed by dint of men, of blood, and of obstinacy; while the French war ended only in a series of constantly increasing disasters.

The means of sustaining these two wars, the one so unfortunate, the other so insane and shameful, were diminishing daily. The state of the French finances was appalling. According to a statement rendered to the King by the comptroller-general Boulogne in 1758, the people paid to the State, the farmers-general, the clergy, and the seigniors, about four hundred and seventeen millions, without including the ecclesiastical tithe, and part of the feudal tributes and municipal and provincial taxes, which would add, it was said, more than eighty millions. This estimate was evidently far below the truth: M. de Boulogne estimated the profits of the farmers-general and their employés, and the expenses of administrating, at only twenty-six million seven hundred thousand francs. This cannot be taken in earnest.[1] However it may be, the ordinary revenue of the State, in 1758, was two hundred and thirty-six millions, not including one hundred and two millions of revenues alienated for a time, or in perpetuity. By adding certain sources of revenues, the nature of which is not explained to us, the receipts of 1759 were estimated in advance at two hundred and eighty-five millions; the projected

[1] The ecclesiastical perquisites are estimated at only three million five hundred thousand francs, which is still less probable. The annats, dispensations, etc., yielded, it is said, three million six hundred thousand francs to the court of Rome. The clergy concealed the real amount of their revenue as well as they could. The tithe, of itself alone, cost the people at least a hundred and twenty millions, expenses included. To appreciate relatively the weight of the popular burden, it is necessary to take into account not only the abolition of privileges, not only the enormous increase of wealth and population, but the immense depreciation of the precious metals.

expenditure, at four hundred and eighteen millions. There was, therefore, a deficit foreseen of one hundred and thirty-three millions. It went far beyond this. The expenditure exceeded five hundred and three millions; and the deficit, two hundred and seventeen millions. More than one hundred millions of the general receipts were consumed in advance, and more than one hundred and fifty millions were due to the receivers-general and the farmers on the preceding years. The extraordinary affairs, loans, lotteries, and life-*rentes*, in 1757, had amounted to one hundred and thirty-six millions: there had been less of these in 1758.[1] This resource was becoming exhausted: the loans, however seductive the form, and however high the interest, were no longer taken. On the other hand, it was impossible to increase either the villain-taxes or the aids without driving the people to despair.

The comptroller-general Boulogne could go no farther. He was replaced by a man of expedients, M. de Silhouette, on whom great hopes were founded (March, 1759), and who began by creating seventy-two thousand shares of one thousand francs on the farms, conferring on the shareholders one-half of the profits made by the company of the farmers-general. The State, in this manner, really made the farmers-general bankrupt; but public opinion was not disposed to take the part of these publicans enriched by the spoils of the people, and whose unbridled luxury presented so shocking a contrast to the distress of the provinces.[2] The seventy-two thousand shares were subscribed for without scruple. An operation of the same kind was effected on the farming of the mails. Silhouette suspended, for the time of the war and two years after, the exemption of officials from the villain-tax, with the exception of the members of the superior courts and the bureaus of finance, and the military officers. Another declaration prescribed the revision of the pensions, and their reduction to the sum total of three millions, not including the pensions of the princes of the blood, those granted to military men as supplementary to their pay, or annexed to the posts of divers

[1] In 1758, the assembly of the clergy gave sixteen millions, the result of the promises made to pay for the abandonment of the plans of Machault. The government exacted a gratuity for six years from all the towns, faubourgs, and burghs. — See *Journal de Louis XV.* t. II. p. 148; *Anciennes Lois françaises*, t. XXII. p. 279.

[2] The bankruptcy was not for fifty per cent, as it would seem; for Silhouette rid the farmers of a host of pensions, and interest on fictitious capital, with which favor and intrigue had burdened them.

officers of the superior courts, those of the academies, faculties, etc. (April 17).

The public applauded: the courtiers dared not clamor; but they did better, as we shall see. The court reputed reformed, Silhouette undertook to reform the King himself. He entreated Louis to set his subjects the example of the sacrifices which he imposed on them; and proposed, as a beginning, the reformation of the fund set apart for the King's play. Louis did not absolutely refuse at first; "but the minister of foreign affairs (Choiseul), seeing that the King's lack of occupation, for want of play, was about to break up the circle around his Majesty, offered to take from the funds of the department of foreign affairs the sum necessary for play, which was accepted. It was the same with most of the other plans of reform."[1] The declaration concerning the pensions shared the same fate with the rest.

"The reforms, moreover, could only reach the obvious expenditures. All the foresight and economy of the most able minister must have failed in the presence of the constantly increasing prodigiousness of the expenditures concealed under the veil of the royal orders on the treasury; the disposal of which, abandoned in some sort to a favorite, served to maintain her prodigality. The royal orders on the treasury, which, twenty years before, varied from twenty to thirty millions, at the epoch of the reforms proposed by M. de Silhouette exceeded one hundred and seventeen millions.[2] It need not be said that Madame de Pompadour and the Parc-aux-Cerfs did not cost one hundred and seventeen millions a year:[3] but the royal orders on the treasury covered all the irregular unclassified expenses, thrown from one branch of the service upon another; a chaos in which none could find his way, and against which the chamber of accounts unceasingly protested. It was not, moreover, for his mistresses alone that Louis XV. drew upon the treasury (*Épargne-savings*), so misnamed; but also

[1] Monthion, *Particularités sur les Ministres des finances*, art. SILHOUETTE; *Mercure historiq.* t. CXLVI. p. 523.

[2] Bailli, *Hist. financière de la France*, t. II. p. 142; *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 125.

[3] Nor probably ever even one hundred and seventeen millions in all. According to the *Relevé des dépenses de madame de Pompadour*, published by M. le Roi, city librarian of Versailles (Paris, Dumoulin, in 8vo), Madame de Pompadour's personal expenses amounted in all to thirty-seven millions during *her reign*. — See also an article by M. L. Lacour on the *Parc-aux-Cerfs*, in the *Revue française* of October 20, 1858. The *Parc-aux-Cerfs* had not the importance that is commonly attributed to it; but under this name, which has become typical, is confounded all the secret debauchery of Louis XV.

for his privy purse, which he increased to the best of his ability, like a prudent citizen:[1] it was all that was left him of the maxims of economy taught by Fleuri. He had taken the keepership of the seals in order to appropriate to himself the perquisites. Never before had a king of France been seen accumulating a private fortune: no symptom, perhaps, announced in so striking a manner the moral ruin of royalty. We shall soon see the successor of Louis the Great figuring among the most shameless speculators of his kingdom!

The comptroller-general was obliged to have recourse to new taxes. He strove to render them as little onerous as possible to the suffering classes. He procured the decree of a general proportional subsidy on all revenues, whether from real estate or personal property, without exception. It was still the same idea, the income tithe of Vauban, resumed in turn by Desmaretz, Fleuri, and Machault, always added to the existing taxes, contrary to the principle of Vauban, and always repulsed or perverted in its application by the resistance of the privileged classes. Silhouette at least intended, in the future, to lighten the subsidy, the villain-tax, and other established taxes. To the subsidy were joined taxes on domestics, and servants in livery, horses, carriages, and the manufacture and sale of articles of luxury or ornament, on their entrance into the towns. This was a means of reaching the magnificence of the great cities, and the fortunes in paper, "too much increased by the loans," says the minister in his report to the King. Unmarried men were to pay a triple capitation-tax. Parents whose children entered a religious order before attaining majority were to purchase a license from the King.

By the side of equitable and well-conceived innovations, other measures too much resembled the injurious fiscal routine practices. Such were the creations of offices, onerous to the public, and contrary to the rights of the possessors of similar places already existing; the attribution to the King of the *octrois* of the towns; duties on shops; and letters of mastership in trade corporations. Lastly, there were provisions, rigorous for a few, as the abolition of many petty offices at Paris, in consideration of a trifling indemnity; or for all, as a new duty of ten per cent on foreign merchandise, coffee-houses, etc., and the establishment of four sous per livre on all articles of consumption.[2]

[1] When he lost at play, he replaced his loss from the public treasury. A piquant illustration of his good private management is related. "Do not invest with the King," he said one day to his steward: "it is said that he is not safe."

[2] *Mém.* of Silhouette to the King, in the *Comptes-rendus de* 1758–1787; *Mercure his-*

These extraordinary edicts were received with the most virulent opposition. The privileged classes opposed them less for what was objectionable in them than for their justice: the people saw in them only the new subsidy, which they were about to be forced to pay, and the four sous a livre. The parliament presented remonstrance after remonstrance. The King imposed the reg stration on it in a bed of justice (September 20). The parliament protested anew, sustained by the other superior courts of Paris and the provincial parliaments. The King hesitated, and granted suspensions to certain interests menaced by the edicts. It was evident that he would recede with respect to the rest. At each encounter with the parliament, royalty lost ground. Silhouette, seeing his plans failing, having nothing to expect from the financiers whom he had treated so harshly, and no longer knowing how to provide for the payment of the troops, plunged into the most desperate and fatal expedients. He suspended, for the duration of the war, the payment of the letters of exchange registered by the colonial treasurers, and, for a year, the reimbursement of the advances on the general receipts and the notes on the farms: he violated the public deposits, and postponed till the recurrence of peace the reimbursements that were to be effected by the royal treasury and the sinking fund; that is, all payments were suspended, except of the *rentes*, which interested too many people.[1] The government thus rid itself temporarily by this expeditious means of an exigible debt of one hundred and eighty-nine millions; but thereby it dealt the last blow to the unhappy Canadians, and destroyed all credit at home. Six bankers, who, at the beginning of the year, had negotiated with the King to advance three million five hundred thousand francs a month to the marine and the fortifications, to be paid with rescripts on the general receipts, were obliged to obtain writs to stay the proceedings of their creditors. The creditors became bankrupt; and, from step to step, all the commercial classes were thrown into disorder. The sending of the King's plate to the mint, with a request to private individuals to do the same, was a very poor resource in such a crisis.

The public clamor broke forth against Silhouette. He was loaded with derision.[2] The court sacrificed him, and gave him as

toriq. t. CXLVII. p. 391, CXLVIII. p. 45. The city post was established in Paris in July, 1759.

[1] *Mercure hist.* t. CXLVII. p. 538. "To suspend the payment of the *rentes* . . . would occasion a revolution." — Letter from the Duke de Choiseul to the French Ambassador to Madrid, ap. Flassan, t. VI. p. 279.

[2] Portraits were made *à la Silhouette*, or in skeleton; breeches *à la Silhouette*,

a successor the lieutenant of police, Bertin (November 21), who found the royal treasury empty, and the fund of 1760 consumed in advance. The money to provide for the first necessities was loaned by the Prince de Conti, then by the King himself, who consented to advance two millions from his privy purse. Bertin emitted three millions of life-*rentes*, in the form of a tontine, on the capital value of thirty millions; obtained some money from the farmers-general, satisfied with the fall of Silhouette; and compounded with the parliament with respect to the extraordinary edicts of his predecessor. The taxes on articles of luxury, and various other duties, were revoked. The four sous a livre were reduced to a single one. Instead of the general subsidy, a third twentieth was established, in the form of the two others, that is, with redemptions, commutations, etc., which lightened the burdens of the rich at the expense of the poor: and the capitation-tax was doubled, and was even tripled for officers of finance and farmers of the revenue, — all for two years only; at least, so it was announced.[1] The parliament, whose self-love was satisfied, made the registration without much objection (March 3, 1760).

Bertin next sought to revive credit in some degree by fixing a limit for the reimbursement of the notes on the farms and those on the general receipts, and by causing the payments to be resumed, at least in part (March 11-17). May 18, he emitted a loan of fifty millions, reimbursable by series in ten years; the stock being purchasable, two-fifths in cash, and three-fifths in royal funds. The royal funds being greatly depreciated, this was a great advantage offered to the lenders. By such means, the government succeeded, not in living, but in not dying, in vegetating from day to day.

Louis XV., launched by the rancor of his favorite and himself into a desperate struggle so contrary to his nature, had begun for some time to be dismayed, and, above all, to be weary. Bernis had no sooner been hurled from the ministry for appearing too pacific than the King showed himself less opposed to peace.

or without pockets. — *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 226. Every thing good that had been done or attempted under Silhouette's ministry belonged less to the comptroller-general than to his chief clerk, the learned and patriotic author of the *Recherches sur les finances de la France*, — Véron de Forbonnais. Involved in the disgrace of his minister, Forbonnais retired to the country, and purchased the place of parliamentary counsellor at Metz. He began by renouncing the privileges conferred by his new office, and publicly certified his property subject to the villain-tax.

[1] *Mercure hist.* t. CXLVIII. p. 292. In 1761, this increase of taxes was extended to the years 1762 and 1763.

Choiseul himself, the object of his ambition once attained, had greatly moderated his devotion to Austria. He had too much intelligence not to understand the true character of the situation;[1] and he had sufficient adroitness to insinuate to Madame de Pompadour, without alienating her, the truths that had destroyed Bernis. Even before the great reverses of 1759, it was therefore agreed at Versailles that peace was desirable; but the *Marchioness* by no means intended to lose the affection of her *friend*, the Empress-Queen. It was resolved not to mix the two questions of peace with England and peace with Prussia; and an effort was made to cause these two questions to be decided, the one by the Russian mediation, the other by the Spanish mediation. The Czarina had disclosed some weariness of the war; and it was hoped secretly to induce her to become, from a belligerent, a pacificatory power. As to Spain, King Ferdinand VI., a hypochrondriac and maniac like his father Philip V., and, like him, governed by his wife, had died August 10, 1759, and had been succeeded by his half-brother, Carlos III., the King of Naples, who, with the consent of Austria, had transmitted his former kingdom to his third son, the eldest being an idiot, and the second becoming the Prince of Asturias. The court of France expected much more from Carlos than from Ferdinand. It counted on a very active and friendly mediation, with a threat of intervention in prospective.

It failed on the side of Russia. The victories of the Russians in the summer of 1759 had changed the disposition of this court; and Choiseul was greatly alarmed at receiving a memorial addressed to the cabinets of Versailles and Vienna, dated October 26, by which Russia demanded nothing less than the cession of the kingdom of Prussia (or ducal Prussia) as an indemnity for the costs of the war. A few months after (March 21, 1760), the alliance, concluded in 1746 for twenty-five years between Austria and Russia, was renewed for twenty years, as well as the clause of solidarity against Turkey. Austria engaged to serve the patri-

[1] See his letter to the ambassador from France to Spain, December 24, 1759: "We are fully conscious . . . that it is not to our interest for the King of Prussia to be wholly destroyed," in Flassan, t. VI. p. 132.

[2] The consent of Austria was necessary, because the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had provided, that, in the event that the King of Naples became the King of Spain, Naples should be transferred to the Infant, Duke of Parma; and Parma to Austria. Austria *momentarily* renounced Parma in consequence of her treaties with France. The new King of Naples, a child of eight, was Ferdinand VI., the docile husband of the too famous Caroline of Austria.

Peint par A.R. Mengs — Gravé par Rebel

Charles III roi d'Espagne

+ 1788.

Dessiné par Belloli — Diagraphe et Pantographe Gavard

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monial interests of the branch of Schleswig Holstein Gottorp,[1] to which the throne of Russia was promised after Elizabeth. Austria, in the event of recovering Silesia, guaranteed by a secret article the kingdom of Prussia to Russia, who was empowered to cede it to Poland *in consideration of arrangements mutually agreeable;* that is, in consideration of cessions of territory in the direction of the Ukraine.

The Austrian government was entering farther and farther into the part that it played for nearly a century, — that of introducing Russia into the heart of Europe.

Choiseul, although ignorant of the secret article, judged rightly of the Russian policy, and what was to be apprehended from it. His instructions to the French ambassador at St. Petersburg are of great interest.[2] Unhappily, he had more sagacity in divining Russia than perseverance in opposing her system.

[1] That is, the pretensions of this branch to Schleswig-Holstein. — See Garden, t. V.; and Martens, t. X. pp. 45–60.

[2] In June, 1759, he had given very strange instructions to the French ambassador to Poland. The Marquis d'Argenson had lately projected the extrication of Poland from *anarchy:* the means of which he dreamed (the Saxon royalty) was very questionable; but the intention was excellent. Choiseul, on his side, designed to maintain this same *anarchy*, and to prevent every thing that could destroy "the blindness of the government of Poland, and give it consistency," while also preventing any power from aggrandizing itself at the expense of Poland. — See Flassan, t. VI. pp. 136–140. Were no other monuments of Choiseul's policy known, he would be taken not only for the most dishonorable, but the most insane, of ministers. How hope to save the integrity of Poland by perpetuating anarchy therein? and what interest had France in preventing a *consistent* State, a *bonâ-fide* government, from being formed between Austria and Russia, capable of serving as a counterpoise to them? It is to be remarked, that Chesterfield expresses himself in absolutely the same manner from the English point of view. It certainly was not even to the evident interest of England! But as to France, the geographical position of Poland did not permit the supposition of any occasion of conflict between the latter and ourselves. In this same document, it is seen that Choiseul systematically closes his eyes to the excesses and tyranny of the Russian army in Poland: he enjoins on his envoy to labor to prevent all confederation against the Russians, and not to receive the complaints of the Poles. The language of Choiseul is greatly changed in his instructions to the French ambassador to Russia in March, 1760. It is difficult to comprehend that the two papers were from the same hand. In this, Choiseul points out with superior sagacity the progress of the Russian power, almost doubled since the death of Peter I.; the danger that there was in introducing Russian armies into Germany, of which the Empress-Queen or her successors might one day repent; the encroaching and despotic spirit of Russia towards her neighbors, and the formidableness of her system of conduct and her wholly aggressive organization. "A plan of policy was long since fully formed at St. Petersburg, from which she will not deviate; . . . but which she will only develop successively, and in proportion as circumstances and events furnish her the occasion. Her ministers, distrustful and suspicious, join to the dissimulation natural to their nation the most methodical consistency in their conversation, writings, and movements." — See Flassan, t. VI. pp. 211–215. The conclusion urges the opposition of all aggrandizement of Russia.

The cabinet of Madrid was better disposed than that of St. Petersburg to serve the plans of Choiseul. Carlos III. proposed his mediation between France and England. Mr. Pitt refused it. He told the Spanish ambassador plainly that England still needed to extend her conquests in order to extend her trade, and that, since fortune favored her, she should profit by her advantages to despoil and humiliate her rival.[1] Towards the close of 1759, however, at the solicitation of Frederick, Mr. Pitt consented that a proposal for a congress should be lodged, in behalf of England and Prussia, in the hands of the States-General, at the Hague. The English ambassador in Holland made overtures in the same direction to the French ambassador. The cabinet of Versailles persisted in the plan that it had formed of treating separately with England, maintaining that the congress, the idea of which was not rejected by it or its allies, should only regulate the differences between Austria and Prussia. The overtures remained ineffectual. Mr. Pitt, moreover, would have made impossible conditions. He did not desire peace.

The allied courts resolved to make a great effort to overpower Prussia and Hanover. Frederick, reduced to less than a hundred thousand soldiers, in great part recruits of a few weeks, had to face nearly two hundred thousand Austrians, Russians, and Imperialists. The French army was raised to a hundred and twenty thousand men: Ferdinand of Brunswick had scarcely seventy thousand, including from twenty to twenty-five thousand English.

The monotonous carnage of the preceding year commenced anew in the spring. Six army corps were opposed to each other in Eastern Germany: Frederick was in Saxony, confronting Marshal Daun; Prince Henry of Prussia, in the north-east of Silesia, held the Russians in check; lastly, the little Prussian corps of Fouquet, in the west of this province, had to deal with the Austrian corps, four times as numerous, of General Laudon. General Fouquet was overpowered at Landshut, and obliged to lay down his arms (June 23, 1760). It was the design of the enemies' generals to assemble their forces upon the Oder. Frederick sought

It is seen from the private correspondence of Louis XV., that Louis strove to inspire Choiseul with more favorable sentiments towards Poland. — *Ibid.* p. 373. This King, whom history stigmatizes for having suffered the partition of Poland to be accomplished, understood the necessity of protecting her, and always had a feeble liking for her; but, from a feeble liking to action, there was a distance that Louis never knew how to cross when doing good was in question.

[1] Flassan, t. VI. p. 280.

to prevent them by a diversion against Dresden. Daun compelled him to raise the siege. Meanwhile Laudon took Glatz, and threatened Breslau. Frederick hastened to Silesia, was followed by Daun, and was shut in between this general and Laudon. He passed through the corps of Laudon (August 15), and effected his junction with his brother Henry, who had repulsed the Russians.

Meanwhile all Saxony, forcibly stripped of troops by Frederick, had been taken from the Prussians by the troops of the Circles. Still worse tidings soon reached Frederick,— the march of the Russians on Berlin. They had returned to Poland only to precipitate themselves upon Brandenburg, where they were joined by an Austrian corps. The sick, wounded, and recruits, who were stationed in Brandenburg, were unable to arrest them: the capital of Frederick was forced not only for the second time to ransom itself from pillage, but to open its gates, and submit to the exactions and ravages of the Austro-Russians (October 3). The enemy, nevertheless, evacuated Berlin on the rumor of the arrival of Frederick on the Elbe; but the Austro-Russian generals formed the project of taking up their winter-quarters along this river, and thus cutting off Frederick from his hereditary dominions. The King of Prussia would have been lost, had this plan been realized. He could only prevent it by striking a great blow. November 3, he fell with all his combined forces upon the army of Daun, posted near Torgau, on the Elbe. The armies were almost equal. Frederick imitated the rash manœuvre of Prince Ferdinand at Crefeld, and separated his army into two parts in order to fall on the Austrians in the rear. He was well-nigh overpowered in detail: success, however, justified him. The Austrians lost the battle-field and the left bank of the Elbe.[1] The Russians, as soon as they knew of the defeat of their allies, returned to winter in Poland; and almost all Saxony fell again into the hands of Frederick, who thus ended to his advantage a campaign that had seemed destined to consummate his ruin.

The French armies, by way of compensation, had somewhat retrieved their character, although the result did not correspond sufficiently to the great superiority of strength. The Duke de Broglie had attained his ends: he had obtained the marshal's bâton and the chief command of the two armies of the Main and the Lower Rhine. The principal forces had been massed on the

[1] One of the most striking features of this battle, as, moreover, of all of this war, was the prodigious quantity of field-artillery. The proportion of it was much larger than now; but it was not massed and movable as at present: each battalion had its pieces.

Main; and the army of the Rhine was nothing but a reserve corps, a much better disposition than that of the preceding year. In the month of June, Broglie united the two armies on the confines of Hesse and Westphalia; then drove Prince Ferdinand from Hesse, and encroached upon Hanover and Thuringia (July–September). Ferdinand attempted a bold diversion. He precipitated his nephew, the young hereditary prince of Brunswick,[1] at the head of fifteen thousand men, upon the Lower Rhine, with orders to attack Wesel, and then to effect an entrance into the Austrian Netherlands in order to assist an expedition which was fitting out in the ports of England, and which was to make a descent on Antwerp. This blow, if successful, would transfer the war to the frontiers of France. Brunswick crossed the Rhine, went to secure the crossing of the Meuse near Röermond, then returned to besiege Wesel. He had been only a few days before this place when twenty thousand French came to its aid, under the command of the Marquis de Castries, one of Broglie's lieutenants. Brunswick attacked the French at Closter-Camp during the night of October 15–16. He was warmly repulsed.[2] On returning to his camp at Burich, he found his bridges carried away by an inundation of the Rhine. Hemmed in between the Rhine, the victorious army, and the besieged town, had he had to deal with an enterprising enemy, he would have been destroyed. Castries suffered him tranquilly to rebuild his bridges, and return to Westphalia. The English did not appear in the mouths of the Scheldt, and the troops went into winter-quarters.

They did not remain long in repose there. Prince Ferdinand sought to profit by the too great extent of the French quarters. He suddenly attacked them in the month of February, 1761, and obliged the Marshal de Broglie to burn his vast magazines, and fall back upon Frankfort; but this time there was no rout as with

[1] The famous Brunswick of the Revolution.

[2] It was in this action that the celebrated deed of the Chevalier d'Assas occurred, the incidents of which have been somewhat changed by tradition. The firing had begun in the darkness. D'Assas, a captain of chasseurs, was posted quite at the extremity of the French line. An officer cried out to him that he was mistaken, and that he was firing on his own comrades. He quitted the ranks, rushed amidst the English, exclaimed, "*Fire, chasseurs, they are enemies!*" and fell pierced with bayonet-thrusts. — See *Mém. de Rochambeau*, t. I. p. 162. Rochambeau commanded the Auvergne regiment, in which D'Assas served. The companies of chasseurs (light infantry) were of quite recent institution. Rochambeau had conceived the idea and set the example of them in order "to afford emulation to that class of men of small stature, so numerous and so much neglected in France, but so active, and sometimes more nimble than those of greater size." — *Ibid.* p. 130.

the Count de Clermont: the French detachments, quartered in Göttingen, Mulhausen, and the Hessian places, defended themselves warmly; and Broglie, after rallying the main body of his troops, resumed the offensive, and drove Ferdinand for the second time from Hesse, with the loss of fifteen thousand men (March, 1761).

The national honor was somewhat consoled; but these sterile successes did not compensate for the cruel losses which France continued to experience. The ruin of Canada was consummated during this campaign; that of French India was close at hand. The governor, Lally, after causing the loss of our magnificent settlements in the Deccan, and vainly attacking Madras, had lost a decisive battle against Colonel Coote, at Wandiwash, in consequence of his obstinacy in not following the advice of Bussi, who was taken prisoner in this unhappy action (January 22, 1760). The English retook Arcot and Devicotta, and captured Karikal from us. At the beginning of May, 1760, the French found themselves restricted to Pondicherry and two or three fortresses. Lally then tardily attempted to return to the system of Dupleix and Bussi, and to call in the aid of native allies against the English. He treated with Hyder Ali, who was governing Mysore as the general of the rajah of that kingdom, and who was later to render himself illustrious by his obstinate struggle against the English. Hyder Ali sent a small army to revictual Pondicherry. An Anglo-Indian corps attacked the Mysoreans on their return, and was defeated by them (June 17). The English, however, soon received powerful assistance from Europe. The French, on the contrary, saw none appear during the whole year. The squadron of the Count d'Aché, which had reappeared for a moment on the coast of Coromandel in the month of September, 1759, and had fought a third naval battle there without decisive success, had almost immediately departed again for the Isle of France, and never more returned. The report having been spread that the English were planning an attack on the Isles of France and Bourbon, the ministry had despatched to Aché a prohibition to quit these islands.

Every thing simultaneously failed the defenders of Pondicherry. The Mysoreans, discouraged by a few repulses, alarmed at the diversions which the English were instigating against their country, and without confidence or sympathy for Lally, departed, no more to return. Pondicherry, at the end of August, began to be besieged by land and sea. Despite the energetic resistance of the

garrison, the great quickset hedge that surrounded the suburbs of Pondicherry with a living rampart of verdure was carried by the enemy; then, after the hedge, the outposts of the place. The English, however, were not in a position to assault the town until the month of December. Famine was raging, and the besieged were reduced to the last extremity, when a furious hurricane, December 31, shattered the English squadron, sunk four ships and a frigate, overthrew the camp of the besiegers, and ruined their works. Pondicherry believed itself saved. Vain hope! Seven English ships came from Madras and Ceylon to replace the wrecked vessels; the camp was rebuilt; and in a week all was repaired. January 14, 1761, the eleven hundred famished soldiers that remained in Pondicherry had only twenty-four hours' provisions. They were forced to surrender at discretion. January 17, the English flag floated over the capital of French India.

The last places possessed by France — Mahé on the coast of Malabar, Gingee and Thiagur in the Carnatic — surrendered in the course of the year; and the French colors disappeared from all India.[1] No monument remained to us of our distant empire but that mysterious legacy from the primitive world, those sacred books of India and Persia, of which a young hero of science — Anquetil-Duperron — had gone in quest, through a thousand perils, amidst the jealous hands that concealed them from Europe. The conquests of philosophy and history were to be more lasting than those of arms and politics.[2]

We have seen by what a series of cowardice and folly the government of Louis XV. had paved the way for the fall of India. Public opinion, too long slumbering or deceived, awoke with tardy anger. The administration flung a victim to the popular resentment: it had had a trial for Canada;[3] it had one also for India. The blow could fall only on Lally. The indignation of the conquered colony broke forth furiously against the governor;

[1] See Barchou de Penhoën, *Hist. de la fondation de l'empire anglais dans l'Inde*, t. II. liv. vi.

[2] Anquetil-Duperron published in 1771 the translation of the *Zendavesta*, or Collection of the sacred books of the religion of Zoroaster. In the same year appeared the French translation of the *Shuking*, the most important, perhaps, of the Chinese books, by the Jesuit Gaubil. Part of the works of Confucius had been translated into Latin, and published at Paris as early as 1687.

[3] The governor, the intendant, and the principal agents of the administration, were prosecuted for abuses and waste. The governor was honorably acquitted: the rest were condemned for the most part to imprisonment, and to restitutions amounting altogether to eleven millions. — See Garneau, *Hist. du Canada*, t. III. liv. x.

he had against him both the knaves whom he had repressed by violence, and the honest men, irritated at his excesses, and devoted to his rival Bussi. A prisoner in England, he obtained leave, like La Bourdonnais, to return to France to justify himself. He recriminated against his accusers with all the vehemence of his nature. Choiseul hesitated to sacrifice him. The rumor was spread that Lally had purchased with some diamonds of great value the protection of the Duchess de Gramont, the sister of Choiseul, and very influential with her brother. The haughty duchess indignantly urged Choiseul to silence this calumny by causing Lally's arrest. The order was given in council; but Choiseul apprised Lally of it. The latter, instead of fleeing, surrendered himself prisoner at the Bastille. He remained there nineteen months without being interrogated, and without knowing before what tribunal he was to answer. During the interval, the Superior of the Jesuits of French India, Father Lavaur,[1] who had played a very active part in the colony, died at Paris. Two memorials were found among his effects, the first of which was a panegyric of Lally, the second a list of the charges against him. He had proposed to make use of one or the other according to circumstances. The enemies of Lally concealed the apology, and transmitted the other to the attorney-general. The magistrate took this document as the foundation of an indictment against the ex-governor for peculation and treason, which he presented to the parliament. Letters patent from the King referred to the great chamber and the Tournelle[2] assembled "the cognizance of offences committed in India." After interminable proceedings, the parliament rendered one of the most unreasonable decrees contained in its annals (May 6, 1766). It condemned the Count de Lally to be decapitated, not for high treason or peculation, for it was impossible to find any thing of this sort in his conduct, but for "having betrayed the interests of the King, the State, and the Company," and for "abuse of authority, vexations, and extortions." *Having betrayed the interests of the King*, etc., had no other meaning than having committed political and military mistakes: the only real *crimes* of Lally were his acts of violence towards the Indians; and these were not the reason of his condemnation. Choiseul solicited his pardon of the King. Louis

[1] A very able man. It must be admitted that he had well served the interests of France in the times of Duplex and Bussi.

[2] The court for adjudicating in all criminal cases brought before the parliaments.—Tr.

XV. parodied George II. and Mr. Pitt in the affair of Byng: he was inflexible; and the Ex-Governor of India lost his head on the scaffold.

Twelve years after (in 1778), the son of Lally, energetically seconded by the dying Voltaire, obtained the annulment of his father's sentence by the council of the King, on account of the numerous irregularities which had preceded the judgment. The reconsideration of the suit was referred to the parliament of Burgundy, and the memory of Lally was rehabilitated.[1]

The real criminal upon whom posterity throws the weight of the responsibility of the loss of India is not the Count de Lally, but the very monarch who caused his head to fall.

Even before learning of the fall of Pondicherry, the Duke de Choiseul had entered upon a new attempt at negotiation with the English. The aged King of England, George II., had died October 25, 1760, and had been succeeded by his grandson, George III., a young man of twenty-two. A new spirit was introduced into the councils of the crown of England by this accession. George II. had been, like his father, a German, but a Whig king: George III., a stranger by birth and education to Hanover, which he never visited, was the first truly English king of the dynasty; but he was an English Tory, disposed to lean on the old monarchical party,— on those Jacobites who, despairing of ever witnessing the return of the Stuarts, transferred their royalism to the *usurping* dynasty. Lord Bute, the confidant and mentor of the young monarch, resembled the favorites of the kings of the Continent much more than the leaders of the English parliamentary parties. A rival influence thenceforth commenced secretly to undermine the rule of Pitt. The great Whig minister designed to carry on the war till France was rendered unable ever to revive her marine. The Tory counsellor of George III. encouraged the formation of a peace party as a means of overthrowing the ministerial power, which, supported by the parliament, annulled the authority of the crown.

The consequences of this new disposition could not, however, be immediate; and it was still with William Pitt, in the apparent plenitude of his power, that the cabinet of Versailles had to deal.

The first form of negotiation projected by Choiseul having failed, he now accepted the idea of a general congress, provided

[1] Barchou de Penhoën, t. II. liv. vi.; Voltaire, *Fragments sur l'Inde*, appended to the *Hist. du Parlement de Paris;* Notice of M. de Meilhan, appended to the *Mémoires de madame du Hausset*, p. 192.

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that the interests of France and England were treated separately, reserving the right of signing the whole together. He desired that an armistice should coincide with the opening of the negotiations. Austria refused this: she hoped for a decisive result from the campaign of 1761 so far as she was concerned, and cared little for the losses and exhaustion of France. She consented to the negotiations, which pledged her to nothing of consequence; and, March 26, a proposition for a congress was addressed by France and her allies to England and Prussia, at the same time that separate proposals were presented to England by France. Choiseul offered Pitt as a basis the *uti possidetis* on the footing in which the respective possessions of the two nations should be found in the East Indies on the 1st of September, 1761, in America and Africa on the 1st of July, and in Europe on the 1st of May, reserving the right of discussing the delays proposed, or the exchanges that might be agreed upon. Pitt consented to receive a French minister, and to send an English minister to Versailles, and accepted the *uti possidetis* (April 8); but he made Choiseul wait more than two months for a positive answer concerning the epochs at which the status of the possessions should be fixed. He had his reasons. At that very moment, an English squadron landed twelve thousand soldiers at Belle-Isle, four leagues from the coast of Brittany. Repulsed in a first attempt at a descent, April 8, the English were more successful on the 22d; and the garrison, about three thousand five hundred strong, was obliged to shut itself up in the town of Le Palais and the citadel of Belle-Isle. The Duke d'Aiguillon, the Governor of Brittany, had not constructed the necessary works at Belle-Isle, or provided it with the needed supplies, although the States of the province had offered him every thing under their jurisdiction; neither had he known how to profit by the fortnight that elapsed between the first and the second descent; and the island received scarcely any assistance, while the English were reënforced by a new squadron. The French navy gave no signs of life; the vessels that had taken refuge in the Vilaine had been disarmed; the squadron of Rochefort and a few vessels that remained at Brest were blockaded by superior forces. The Governor of Belle-Isle, Sainte-Croix, and the greater part of the garrison, did their duty bravely: after inflicting considerable loss on the enemy, however, they finally saw the town carried by storm, and were obliged to surrender the citadel (June 7). The English remained masters of a post which blockaded Morbihan, the Vilaine, and the Loire. For the first

time in our modern wars, they regained a footing on our shores! The prolonged resistance of Belle-Isle had at least preserved Lorient, the port of the Indian Company, which the English were no longer in a condition to attack with any chance of success.[1]

Belle-Isle conquered, Pitt offered for the *uti possidetis* the dates of July 1, September 1, and November 1. Choiseul resigned himself to the English dates, and proposed the cession and guarantee of Canada to England in consideration of the guarantee of the right of fishery at Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the restitution of the Island of Cape Breton, which France engaged not to fortify. He offered to exchange Minorca for Guadeloupe and Marie Galante, and demanded the reëstablishment of the Godeheu treaty in India, and the restitution of Senegal or Goree, and of Belle-Isle, in consideration of the evacuation of Hesse, Hanover, and Göttingen, by the French. Pitt refused Cape Breton, which was comprised in the *uti possidetis* of the English, and demanded in terms of unheard-of insolence the demolition of Dunkirk, on the basis of the treaty of Utrecht, which was outside the *uti possidetis*.[2] He refused Senegal and the Godeheu treaty, and made no reply so far as Germany was concerned. He by no means intended to set the interests of England against the interests of the German allies. Neither did he grant the restitution of the three hundred merchant-vessels piratically captured before the declaration of war.

The cabinet of Versailles would not yet break off: it maintained its propositions, adding thereto a plan for the partition of the four neutral islands of the West Indies. It was resigned to yield concerning Dunkirk. The French ambassador at the same time presented to the cabinet of St. James a memorial, in which France announced the intention of causing the peace to be guaranteed by Spain, and supported several demands addressed by this crown to England, "in order that the reconciliation between France and England might not be afterwards disturbed by the interests of a third party" (July 15).

This step indicated that Choiseul had at length succeeded in

[1] *Mercure historiq.* t. CL. (April, May, June), CLI. (July); Sainte-Croix, *Hist. de la Puissance navale de l'Angleterre*, t. II. p. 317; *Mém. de Duclos*, p. 658.

[2] "Mr. Pitt replied, that, since England had acquired the empire of the seas, he dreaded Dunkirk little personally; but that the fear which had formerly been conceived of it was a prejudice which still existed in the minds of the masses, and which must be respected. The people, added Mr. Pitt, regard the demolition of Dunkirk as *an eternal monument of the yoke imposed on France*; and a minister would risk his head, should he neglect to give this satisfaction to the English." — See Flassan, t. VI. p. 405.

forming that alliance with Spain which he had so ardently desired. A highly important negotiation between the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid had indeed proceeded simultaneously with the parleys between France and England. The new King, Carlos III., had shown much hesitation. The system of neutrality had been of evident advantage to Spain, who was still in great need of some years of peace to reëstablish her finances and marine, and to begin to develop her internal resources: on the other hand, Carlos III. hated England, of whom he had had serious cause of complaint when King of Naples, and who now molested and tyrannized over the maritime commerce of the Spaniards, like that of all neutrals. Attached at heart to the eldest branch of his house, he saw with pain the reverses of France, and feared that the English, when they had once dictated peace to Louis XV., would make use of their power to treat Spain with still greater arrogance. He suddenly came to a decision at the beginning of 1761, and made unhoped-for overtures to the court of France for a treaty of alliance. Choiseul replied by the plan of a *family compact* between the different branches of the House of Bourbon, and of an agreement according to which France and Spain would unite their interests and grievances with respect to England, and the King of Spain would declare war against the English on May 1, 1762, if peace were not previously concluded between them and France. The court of France granted a concession which must have been precious to the Spanish pride; namely, the renunciation of precedence: that is, that, in courts foreign to the House of Bourbon, the ambassadors of France and Spain should take precedence of each other according to the priority of their credentials. France offered Minorca to Spain, if war were declared, and only asked Spain to pledge herself, during the war, to permit France alone to import cloths and other dry-goods into her possessions, in such a manner as to exclude English merchandise.

The French cabinet did not press the conclusion with Spain as warmly as it might have done, so much did it hope for a pacific issue of the parleys with England. Louis XV. desired peace, much less through consideration for the deplorable state of France than on account of the "intestine disturbances of which he was excessively weary, and which could only be repressed during peace."[1] The parliaments and the clergy were still at

[1] Despatch from M. de Choiseul to the ambassador of France in Spain, July 7, 1761 ap. Flassan, t. VI. p. 302.

variance, and the great affair of the Jesuits was agitating France as violently as the war itself. We shall recur to this hereafter.

A pacific conclusion became less and less probable. Mr. Pitt had sent back the memorial in which France supported the Spanish claims, declaring that the King of England would not permit France to meddle in the discussions between Great Britain and Spain. He made no concession as to the conditions of peace. The French cabinet maintained its right to interfere in the interests of Spain, and sent an ultimatum to London, August 5. It yielded concerning Senegal, and consented for the two Indian companies to make a new treaty. There remained serious difficulties only: 1st, Concerning the possession of some port in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, claimed as indispensable to secure to the French the right of fishery; 2d, Concerning the restitution of the vessels taken before the war; 3d, Concerning the position towards the German allies.

Pitt replied to the French ambassador by a letter which might be considered as a rupture (August 15). It was expected. On the same day that the letter was written, the *family compact* was signed at Paris.

The Most Christian King and the Catholic King declared in this, that, in future, any power that might become the enemy of the one should be the enemy of the other. They reciprocally guaranteed to each other all the States that they possessed, and granted the same guarantee to the King of the Two Sicilies and the Infant, Duke of Parma, on condition of reciprocity.[1] This guarantee was to be sustained by the whole force of the respective powers; but, as a first assistance, the one of the two crowns from which it was demanded, was to put, within three months, twelve ships and six frigates at the disposal of the court requiring it, besides twenty-four thousand men if required by France, and twelve thousand if required by Spain. Spain did not obligate herself, however, to take part in the wars in which France might engage by reason of the treaty of Westphalia and of other alliances with the German and Northern powers, unless some maritime power should participate in these wars, or France should be attacked on her own soil: in the latter event, Spain was to furnish in case of need twenty-four thousand soldiers. The assistance by land and sea was to be regarded as belonging by full right to the power that should require it, although it was to be supported at the expense of the party by

[1] The government of Naples did not accede at that time, and it was not urged to do so in order to avoid committing it uselessly with England.

which it was furnished. The operations of the war were to be concerted in common. Peace was only to be made in common; so that, in war as in peace, each of the two crowns was to regard the interests of his ally as his own. In consequence, when negotiation was in question, the advantages of the one power were to be set against the losses of the other; the two monarchies of France and Spain acting as if they formed only one and the same power. No power outside of the House of Bourbon could be admitted to a participation in this treaty. The right of *aubaine* was abolished between France, Spain, and the Two Sicilies, as regarded their respective subjects.[1] Full reciprocity was established between the three flags in the respective ports, with the proviso that the same rights should not be granted to other nations. The contracting parties were to confide to each other all the alliances which they thenceforth might form, and all the negotiations into which they might enter.

This was the closest union that it was possible to contract. It was almost without example, except in the family compacts of the ancient House of Austria. This great treaty, so different in its character and its national aim from the extravagant compacts which had preceded it, finally realized the idea of Louis XIV., half a century after the death of the Great King. But, in diplomacy as elsewhere, it is not enough for a plan to be good in itself: it is necessary that it should arrive opportunely.

To the family compact was annexed a separate agreement, in conformity with the project of Choiseul. Spain was to declare war against England, May 1, 1762, if peace were not previously concluded with France. France promised Minorca to Spain, the moment that war should be declared. It was agreed to invite the King of Portugal to accede to this agreement, "it not being just for him to continue to enrich the enemies of the two sovereigns while they were sacrificing themselves for the common advantage of all the maritime nations." All the maritime powers might accede to the agreement. No mention was made of the commercial advantages demanded in the plan of Choiseul for France.[2]

The compact and the agreement were kept secret.

The official answer of the English cabinet to the ultimatum of the French cabinet arrived September 1. Pitt granted to France

[1] This inhospitable law, so contrary to natural right, was abolished by successive treaties between France and the different European States.

[2] See Flassan, t. VI. p. 314 *et seq.*; Wenck, t. III. p. 278.

the little Island of St. Peter, as a harbor on the coast of Newfoundland, on condition that France should neither erect any fortifications nor receive foreign vessels there, and that she should receive an English commissioner, and be subject to the inspection of the commander of the English squadron of Newfoundland. He exacted that France should restore in Germany, not only the territories which she occupied on her own behalf, but the Prussian places which she occupied on behalf of Austria. He still refused the vessels taken before the war.

The cabinet of Versailles wished to throw all the blame upon its adversary. It despatched, September 9, an *ultimatissimum*, in which it said nothing of the vessels taken before the war, or of the grievances of Spain; accepted the Island of St. Peter, without the inspection of the English commodore, and provided that the neighboring islet of Miquelon were added to it; and submitted, in fine, to almost all of the exorbitant demands of the British, except the restitution of the places conquered in the name of the Empress-Queen. Choiseul would not have made such propositions if he had thought that they would be accepted; but he knew the disposition of Pitt, who had made what he called concessions to France only under the importunities of Lord Bute. Mr. Pitt's sole reply was the recall of the English ambassador (September 20).[1]

This rupture was followed by a great event. Mr. Pitt did not suspect the existence of the compact that united France and Spain; and he projected acting towards Spain as his predecessors had done towards France in 1755. At the same time that he recalled the English ambassador from Versailles, he unfolded to the cabinet of St. James a vast plan of aggression on Spain. War was to be declared by intercepting the galleons from America: then two expeditions were to go, the one to make a conquest of Martinique, Havana, and Panama; the other to seize the Philippines. Lord Bute, introduced by the King into the council a few months before, explicitly opposed both the new act of piracy proposed by Pitt, and all declaration of war against Spain. The other ministers, secretly hostile to the dictator who bowed them beneath his imperious yoke, almost all ranged themselves on the side of Lord Bute. Pitt declared, that, called to power by the voice of the people, he regarded himself as accountable to the people for his conduct, and that he could not take the

[1] Concerning all the negotiations with England and Spain, see Flassan, t. VI. pp. 377–446; and Garden, t. IV. pp. 74–193.

responsibility of an administration which he did not direct. The King accepted his resignation (October 5).[1]

It seemed as if the retirement of the implacable enemy of France must bring about the resumption of negotiations. The new ministry, in fact, indirectly apprised the cabinet of Versailles that the King of England was disposed to accept the *ultimatissimum* of France. Choiseul turned a deaf ear. He did not desire peace at this price, and he rightly judged that the new English cabinet would not dare to recede from the *ultimatissimum*, for fear of arousing the passions of England. He relied, on his side, on the passions of France as much as on the alliance of Spain. The loss of Belle-Isle, and the establishment of the English on our coasts, had moved the whole nation. Choiseul adroitly gave the impulse to the public spirit. He secretly induced the Cardinal de La Roche-Aimon, the Archbishop of Narbonne, to propose to the States of Languedoc to offer the King a man-of-war, as they had offered a regiment of dragoons during the War of the Austrian Succession. The proposition was adopted with enthusiasm (November 26). A unanimous outcry resounded from one end of France to the other, *The navy must be revived!* The municipal corporation of Paris, the six corporations of the merchants of Paris, the paymasters of *rentes*, the Knights of Malta, the Order of the Holy Ghost, the secretaries of the King, the bankers of the King, together with the treasurers of war, and the contractors, the receivers-general, the States of Burgundy, the parliament and city of Bordeaux, and the administrators of the mails, offered eleven more ships of from fifty-four to ninety guns. The farmers-general offered two ships of fifty-four guns; the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles, a ship of seventy-four guns; the States of Flanders, a ship of fifty-four guns; the States of Artois, a frigate of forty-four guns; and the city of Strasburg, sails and rigging for six ships. The private gifts amounted, besides, to thirteen millions. A prodigious activity reanimated our ports, gloomy and silent since the disasters of 1759. Nothing was seen but ships in the process of building or repairing everywhere.[2]

[1] Adolphus, continuation of Hume and of Smollett, *Reign of George III.*, book ii.; Coxe, *Hist. d'Espagne sous les Bourbons*, t. IV. p. 458; Viel-Castel, Lord Chatham, ap. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. XXVI. p. 707: 1844.

[2] *Mém. de Besenval*, t. I. p. 342; *Mercure historiq.* t. CLI. December, 1761, t. CLII. January–March, 1762. The *Mercure historique* (t. CLII. p. 377) relates that a great plan of a national lottery for the benefit of the marine was made, and that the women, who were its ardent promoters, declared that they would break off all social intercourse with the men who did not subscribe to it.

Choiseul had just united in his hands the ministry of the marine to that of war,[1] by ceding to his cousin, Choiseul-Praslin, the ministry of foreign affairs, of which he retained the effective direction. He designed to reorganize the navy morally as well as materially, and to regenerate its spirit by the reformation of the corps of officers, into which he wished to introduce a new element, taken from among the captains of the merchant-vessels. He projected supplying the insufficiency of the crews by men chosen from the land forces, and by sailors attracted from foreign countries.[2]

The views of Choiseul were good. The buoyancy of France, after so many years of a government so well suited to demoralize and extinguish all public spirit, attested the powerful national vitality: but time was needed for these views and this buoyancy to produce their effects; and it is not easy during a war, and that war an unsuccessful one, to create the instruments of war.

It was less difficult for England to maintain herself than for France to retrieve her position. England continued her prodigious efforts, which increased from year to year. The funds voted by the parliament for 1761 had exceeded £15,500,000; the funds obtained for 1762 by the successors of Pitt, through the request of Pitt himself, amounted to £18,000,000, including a loan of £12,000,000, redeemable in ninety-nine years.

The new English ministry was forced to recognize that Pitt had been right, if not as to the means contrary to the laws of nations that he proposed, at least as to the intentions which he attributed to Spain. The English ambassador to Madrid having been ordered to demand the communication of the treaty of Spain with France, the Spanish cabinet at first replied evasively, then acknowledged the existence of the treaty; and, as the ambassador insisted on being unequivocally informed whether Spain intended to abandon neutrality, Carlos III. sent him his passports (December, 1761). The declarations of war were exchanged the following month.

Before viewing the consequences of the Franco-Spanish alliance,

[1] Minister of war on the death of the Marshal de Belle-Isle, January 26, 1761; minister of the marine, October 13, in the place of Berryer, who was made keeper of the seals.

[2] *Mercure hist.* t. CLI. p. 619, CLII. p. 296. The *officiers bleus* (officers not of noble birth) had just given a new proof of their capacity. The officers of the marine corps had declared it impossible to extricate from the Vilaine the vessels that had taken refuge there at the time of the shameful *battle of M. de Conflans*. The *officiers bleus* undertook it, and succeeded. — See *Vie privée de Louis XV.* t. III. p. 215.

and the military events of 1762, we must cast a glance backwards on the campaign of Germany in 1761.

The shameful and deplorable power before which Choiseul was obliged to bow his head had decided the fate of this campaign in advance with respect to the French arms. Prodigious forces had been assembled, "sufficient, had they been well conducted, to conquer Germany;"[1] but these forces were commanded by Soubise. The Marshal de Broglie having again placed affairs on a better footing, Madame de Pompadour had wished to secure to her favorite the glory of finishing the work. Sixty thousand men had therefore been left to Broglie in Hesse; but a hundred thousand had been given to Soubise on the Lower Rhine, with the chief command in the event of a junction! It was easy to predict what would be the result of the incapacity of one of the two generals, and the jealousy of the other. When Soubise entered Westphalia in the month of June, Prince Ferdinand, who had less than seventy thousand men, audaciously threw himself between the two French armies, then flanked Soubise, and cut off his communications with the Rhine. Soubise, greatly alarmed, hastened to join Broglie, although it had been predicted to him that this junction would bring him misfortune. The two marshals marched together against Ferdinand, who was strongly posted on the Lippe, at Villinghausen; then separated to surround the enemy, and agreed to attack him, each on his side, on the morning of July 16. Broglie, however, wished to have alone the honor of the affair. He did not content himself with taking up his position, but captured the outposts on the evening of the 15th. Ferdinand attempted to retake them, and by degrees moved his whole army thither. Soubise listened to the cannonading during the whole evening and the greater part of the night, without stirring: at last, on the receipt of a letter from Broglie, about three o'clock in the morning, he decided to put himself in motion; but, before he was really in line of battle, Ferdinand, by a last and vigorous charge, had compelled Broglie to retreat.

The public outcry was such against Soubise, although the wrong was not wholly on his side, that the court partially abandoned him, and obliged him to give thirty thousand men to Broglie. Affairs proceeded no better. The two marshals began again to operate, each on his own account, — Soubise against Münster and the places on the Lippe, Broglie on the confines of Westphalia and Hanover. Prince Ferdinand again placed himself between

[1] *Mém. de Napoléon*, t. VII. p. 294.

the two, and, well seconded by his nephew, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, caused the failure of every thing undertaken by adversaries more than double in number. When the time came for winter-quarters, the armies found themselves exactly at the same point as the year before. It was a great victory to the enemy to have lost nothing.

It is important to remark that these deplorable results must be attributed solely to the generals. The French soldiers, without having become tacticians like the Prussians, were no longer the undisciplined marauders of 1757, and comported themselves very bravely in skirmishes and partial engagements, provided that they had a passable officer at their head.[1]

Operations seemed much more decisive in Prussia. The successes of Frederick in 1760 had only procured him a respite. As in 1760, the Austrians and the Russians attempted to effect their junction in Silesia, and this time succeeded. Frederick found himself hemmed in near Striegau by forces nearly triple his own. However good his post might have been, he would have probably been overpowered; but the Russian general, Boutourlin, refused to risk an attack, and, lacking provisions, soon quitted Silesia, without this menacing junction having produced the least effect. Nevertheless, Boutourlin having left twenty thousand Russians with the Austrian general, Laudon, the latter still remained incomparably superior to Frederick; and, September 30, he surprised the important place of Schweidnitz. Meanwhile, an army corps and a Russian squadron were besieging Colberg, in Eastern Pomerania. Boutourlin, on reëntering Poland with the principal army, despatched reënforcements to the besiegers; and Colberg capitulated, November 19. The Austrians were thus firmly established in the heart of Silesia; and the Russians, on the coast of Pomerania. This was worse than the loss of two battles. In another direction, Marshal Daun had driven Prince Henry from the mountains of Saxony. Frederick had reason to expect to be reduced to the last extremity in the coming year. To crown his misfortunes, his firmest support had just failed. Mr. Pitt had quitted the ministry; and Lord Bute, forced to continue the war against France, and to undertake it against Spain, wished to lighten the burdens of England by sacrificing Prussia, and renewing the ancient Austro-Britannic alliance. He made overtures with this view to the court of Vienna, so contrary to the

[1] See *Mém. de Napoléon*, t. VII. p. 306, and *Mém. de Rochambeau*, t. I. *passim*.

public engagements and the honor of England, that Kaunitz could not believe them sincere, and disdained them as a snare.[1]

Maria Theresa and Madame de Pompadour thought that they held their vengeance within their grasp. The loss of India and Canada, and the ruin of maritime France, had not too dearly purchased the ruin of the prince who had offended the favorite of Louis XV.

This ruin Madame de Pompadour had not the joy of seeing accomplished. A change of reign in Russia much more than compensated Frederick for the change of ministry that had occurred in Great Britain. The Czarina Elizabeth died January 5, 1762; and her death called to the throne her nephew, Peter of Holstein, the fanatical admirer of the King of Prussia, the prince whose influence had rendered the Russian generals so hesitating in their operations against Frederick. The Prussian hero did not confide in him overmuch: there was no sympathy that to him would have resisted the ordeal of a fine province, and he knew that Austria had guaranteed Prussia to the court of St. Petersburg. But the new Czar, Peter III., was a simple soul, who was ruled by passion or caprice, and not by interest. He contemptuously rejected the proposal made to him by Lord Bute, to compel Prussia to whatever cession he might wish; and concluded a truce with Frederick, March 16; then signed a peace, May 5, engaging to evacuate within two months all that the Russian armies had captured from Prussia. The peace was succeeded by an offensive alliance; and, as early as the end of June, the twenty thousand Russians that had been left with the Austrian army of Silesia in 1761 joined the Prussians against the Austrians. Sweden, that had been carrying on a petty warfare in Pomerania without success and without ardor, hastened to make peace after the Russians.

This strange revolution presaged the greatest disasters to Austria. In her conviction of certain success, she had, during the past winter, reduced her army in advance twenty thousand men, in order to relieve her finances; and now an epidemic was wasting her diminished and discouraged troops, in the face of an enemy become superior and full of confidence.

A second turn of fortune, much more extraordinary, and of a kind seen nowhere but in Russia, saved Austria in turn. If, in despotic States, the caprice of a single person can change, from one day to the next, the whole policy of an empire, it is not without a responsibility, in point of fact, often more formidable than the

[1] Garden, t. IV. p. 194; Frederick II., *Guerre de Sept Ans*, t. II. p. 291.

legal responsibility of free States. Peter III., as imprudent as passionate, had not comprehended the circumspection rendered necessary to him by his foreign origin towards a haughty, ignorant, and distrustful nation. He had alienated the clergy by uniting their estates to the crown property, according to the plan of Peter I., and by undertaking to make them adopt the costume of the Lutheran pastors, and remove from the churches the images of the saints. The clergy, although much humbled by the great reformer of the empire, were not enemies to be despised, if a pretext were thus given them for arousing the fears of the people lest Russia should be rendered Lutheran. Peter had offended the regiments of the guards even less, perhaps, by the unusually rigorous discipline to which he subjected them, than by his manifest contempt for every thing that did not pertain to the Prussian soldiery or the Prussian tactics. The project that he announced of making war on Demark to avenge the injuries of his family, the House of Holstein, did not cause less dissatisfaction among the Russians, who saw therein only a foreign quarrel, and who would have far rather taken Prussia than Holstein. Their national self-love was deeply offended that their Czar, their Emperor, should glory in the title of lieutenant-general of the Prussian armies, solicited as a favor from Frederick II. They were astonished and indignant that Peter never appeared in their churches, and abstained from being crowned at Moscow, according to the consecrated rites.[1]

The elements of rebellion were fomenting on all sides. Nothing but a leader was needed for the conspiracy of a whole people. This leader was found on the throne itself, by the side of Peter III., in his own wife, Catharine of Anhalt-Zerbst, the grand-daughter of the renowed organizer of the Prussian infantry. This woman of impetuous blood and cool brain, at once fiercely sensual and endowed with a terrible empire over herself, had the inclinations of the most dissolute Roman empresses, like her predecessor, Elizabeth of Russia, but allied with the profound, persevering, and implacable genius of Elizabeth of England. She had excited her husband's anger by amours known to all European diplomacy, and she suspected Peter III. of designing to repudiate her and to disown her infant son (afterwards Paul I.). She became the soul and aim of the plot. She roused the regiments of the guards to insurrection. The impulse, once given, swept away every thing. Peter III., surrounded in the Castle of Oranienbaum, abdicated to save his

[1] Frederick II., *Guerre de Sept Ans*, t. III. p. 292; *Mercure historiq.* CLIII. p. 117; Coxe, *Hist. de la maison d'Autriche*, ch. cxvii.

CATHERINE II

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life; but, a few days after, it was announced that he had died of nephritic colic. He had been poisoned, it is affirmed, then strangled by four men, the first of whom, Alexis Orloff, was the brother of the lover of Catharine, and the second of whom, Potemkin, was destined to replace this lover. The senate of the Empire proclaimed Catharine; and the revolution, which had overthrown the grandson of Peter the Great[1] because of his foreign tastes, raised to the throne a woman absolutely foreign to Russia: a fanatical people welcomed with acclamations an infidel sovereign, who declared herself the elect of Providence.[2]

We shall see hereafter what this formidable reign became, with its two faces, the one of national fanaticism, turned within, the other of infidel and innovating philosophy, turned towards Europe, — towards that France, above all, whose writers made the opinion of Europe. Catharine was Frederick II. on one side, and the great Ivan on the other.

The news from St. Petersburg fell on the King of Prussia like a thunderbolt. He saw himself on the point of falling again into the abyss from which he had scarcely escaped. The first acts of Catharine with respect to him seemed wholly hostile. Catharine had feared that Frederick would turn against her, in the name of Peter III., the Russian corps that had joined the Prussian army; but Frederick was not the man to compromise himself for a friend, and judged moreover that any effort to save Peter would come too late. Catharine, on her side, wished to consolidate her power before undertaking any thing without. When she saw that Frederick attempted nothing against her, she evacuated Prussia, and confined herself to neutrality. The Prussians and the Austrians remained face to face; but the Russians, before quitting the Prussians, had rendered them an important service. General Czernichew, by the entreaty of Frederick, had deferred for three days the departure, orders for which had been sent him by Catharine; and, while the Russians still seemed to form the reserve of the Prus-

[1] Peter III. was the son of a daughter of Peter the Great. Concerning his death, see Flassan, t. VI. p. 339.

[2] See, in the *Mercure hist. et politique* of 1762, t. CLIII. (July), Catharine's manifesto, an unheard-of mixture of religious hypocrisy and political audacity which we know not how to define. It is stated therein, in justification of the deposition of the Czar, as something perfectly natural, that there was not a subject who was not ready to attempt the life of this enemy of the nation and of religion; and Catharine claims the honor of the salvation of Russia for herself and "a few faithful subjects who had resolved to free the country, or die." This inconceivable document seems written jointly by the classic republicans of antiquity and the members of the *council of sixteen* of the League. It is attributed to the Princess Daschkoff, the friend of Catharine.

sian army, Frederick had hastened to strike a decisive blow: he had carried the positions which connected the camp of Marshal Daun with the place of Schweidnitz, and paved the way for the investment of this stronghold (July 21, 1762). All the attempts of the Austrians to succor Schweidnitz proved abortive, although the place was well and obstinately defended:[1] the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners, October 9. Silesia was thus secured to Frederick.

Prince Henry of Prussia had made, meanwhile, an advantageous campaign in Saxony, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had obtained brilliant successes against the French. The court of Versailles, or rather Madame de Pompadour, who had for a moment given way before public opinion in the discussion between Broglie and Soubise, had soon avenged herself: she had disgraced Broglie at the end of 1761, and, not daring to give the army to Soubise alone, had adjoined to him his senior, the Marshal d'Estrées. The two marshals had eighty thousand men in Hesse; the Prince de Condé,[2] a reserve of thirty thousand on the Lower Rhine. Ferdinand took the offensive for the purpose of attempting once more to recover Hesse: he attacked the French at Willemstad, June 24, by flanking their wings at a distance by means of detached corps, a manœuvre that would have been madly rash before a well-commanded army. It was the repetition of Crefeld: the general officers in command of the extremities attacked defended themselves very well; but the two marshals, instead of vigorously supporting their lieutenants, lost their presence of mind, and ordered a retreat. Although rejoined by the reserve of Condé, and greatly superior to Ferdinand, after a few weeks' manœuvring on the Fulde, they fell back upon the Lahn, leaving a body of troops in Cassel. Ferdinand, with less than seventy thousand men against ninety thousand, without counting the garrison of Cassel, besieged this town, covered the siege, and took it, with its garrison, almost under the eyes of D'Estrées and Soubise (November 1).

The maritime events were still graver and more deplorable. Time was needed for the uprising of France to revive its marine, and for the considerably numerous but dilapidated marine of Spain to be in a condition to act. The English, on their side, were in

[1] Two French engineers directed the attack and the defence. — See Frederick II., *Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, t. II. p. 368.

[2] Son of *Monsieur le Duc*. This was the Condé of the emigration, who died at a very advanced age, under the Restoration.

action. The cabinet of Lord Bute had been forced to resume the plans of Mr. Pitt. As early as the autumn of 1761, a strong English squadron had sailed for the West Indies for the purpose of renewing the attack on Martinique. The conquest of Guadeloupe had not been sufficient to secure these waters to the English, and the privateers of Martinique had continued to lay waste their commerce. Martinique was to them, in the American seas, what St. Malo and Dunkirk were in the seas of Europe.[1] Nineteen ships of the line and twelve frigates appeared, January 7, 1762, before the Bay of St. Anne, and unsuccessfully attempted a landing. A vessel was stranded on the coast. On the 16th, a descent was effected between Pointe-des-Nègres and Case-des-Pilotes. From twelve to fifteen thousand soldiers marched to attack Mounts Garnier and Tartenson, fortified heights that defended the approaches to Fort Royal. The two heights were carried by assault after a vigorous resistance. The English army moved upon Fort Royal. The governor capitulated, February 4, without waiting for an attack, and retired to St. Pierre, the capital of the island. The English followed him thither. The governor and inhabitants treated, as early as February 12, in behalf of the whole island. The resistance of Martinique had been far inferior to that of Guadeloupe: the English forces, indeed, were much more considerable, and the island had no hope of speedy assistance. St. Lucia, Grenada, Tobago, and St. Vincent were occupied without fighting by the English, already masters of Dominica for a year; and the Lesser Antilles, whether French or neutral, were all in their power.

The extent of this loss may be estimated by a single item:

[1] An important remark must be made on the subject of privateering warfare; namely, that it is not enough, as many imagine, to be *the ruler of the seas*, to be secure from privateers. It is possible, and even then incompletely, to prevent the exit of the enemy's squadrons; but a country that possesses a great extent of coast can never be sufficiently blockaded to prevent the exit of privateers. Never, perhaps, has maritime superiority been more decided than that of England over France from 1759 to 1762. Well, from June, 1756, to June, 1760, the French privateers captured from the English more than twenty-five hundred merchantmen: in 1761, though France had not, so to speak, a ship of the line at sea, and though the English had taken two hundred and forty of our privateers, their comrades still captured eight hundred and twelve English vessels. The prodigious growth of the English merchant shipping explains the quantity of these prizes. In 1760, it is claimed that the English had as many as eight thousand sail at sea: the French captured nearly one-tenth of these, despite the escorts and cruisers. The French lost only nine hundred and fifty vessels, privateers included, from 1756 to 1760. — See Sainte-Croix, t. II. p. 314; *Mercure hist.* t. CLII. p. 846; Contin. of Hume, book xxxiii.

Martinique received every year from France more than one hundred and sixty vessels, of from one hundred to six hundred tons, which made more than twenty-five per cent profit on the return voyages.[1]

Before this new reverse was known in France, the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid had engaged in an enterprise in which Choiseul hoped to find an indemnification for the losses of France, and a means of constraining England to restore her conquests.[2] Portugal was still subject to the commercial vassalage of England, in which almost all the gold of Brazil glided away; and the energetic minister who then governed that kingdom, the Marquis de Pombal, had made vain efforts to throw off this yoke. France and Spain invited Portugal to join them against the tyrant of the seas (March, 1762); letting it be understood that they would no longer suffer a neutrality wholly to the advantage of England, and to which the Portuguese were not even in a condition to insure respect. Some French vessels had been burned by the English under the guns of the Portuguese fortresses, for which it had been impossible to obtain any reparation. It was believed that Portugal, weakened by the recent catastrophe which had thrown her into commotion (the earthquake at Lisbon), and by intestine dissensions, would yield to intimidation, or would be easily conquered. Pombal resisted. However disaffected he was to the English, he judged the moment ill chosen to break with England, victorious and mistress of the seas; and as the Spaniards, reënforced by a few French battalions, were crossing the frontiers, Portugal was the first to issue her declaration of war (May 18). Thirty thousand men invaded the provinces of Tras-os-Montes and Beira: but the Franco-Spanish army, badly commanded, operated tamely; the Portuguese nationality awakened in the presence of invasion; the mountaineers opposed a vigorous partisan warfare to the foreigners; and eight thousand English, landed at Lisbon, reestablished the balance of power. When the King of Spain changed his general, and sent the Count d'Aranda, who transferred the war to the Tagus, it was too late. The Anglo-Portuguese arrested the march of the Franco-Spaniards upon Lisbon, and the campaign proved abortive.

The only advantage of the war against Portugal was the con-

[1] *Mercure historiq.* t. CLII., March, April, 1762; Sainte-Croix, t. II. p. 328.

[2] The King of Spain had entertained the idea of a continental blockade, in which Russia would have been invited to coöperate; but Choiseul had judged this project impracticable. — See interesting details in Flassan, t. VI. p. 456.

quest, by the Hispano-Americans, of the Portuguese colony of Sacramento, on the left bank of the La Plata; a colony at that time the rival of Buenos Ayres, like Monte Video to-day. They took there many English vessels richly laden, a prize compensated for by the loss of a galleon from Peru, the freight of which, it is claimed, was worth twenty-five millions. The French, on their side, won a success in the month of June. A small squadron of two ships and two frigates effected a descent on the coast of Newfoundland, and took, by capitulation, the little town of St. John, the capital of the island; but an Anglo-American expedition from Halifax recovered it as early as September.

Meanwhile, the English pursued their plans in the waters of the West Indies. A squadron sent from Portsmouth, and increased to nineteen ships by its junction with a part of the fleet that had conquered Martinique, suddenly crossed the dangerous passages of the Old Channel of Bahama, and threw fourteen thousand soldiers, June 7, upon the coast of Cuba, near Havana. The Governor of Cuba had fourteen ships of the line in the harbor of Havana, and two thousand troops, and a few thousand badly organized militia in the city and forts: he might have reënforced himself with nine other ships, both French and Spanish, that were either at Cape Français, in San Domingo, at Vera Cruz, or at Santiago, on the extremity of the Island of Cuba, opposite to Havana; but he had not desired to do so, believing himself unassailable. His pride cost Spain dear. The Spanish squadron rendered no service. The troops of the line defended Moro Castle, which commanded the harbor, with heroic constancy. The English, weakened by the sword and by the diseases of a dangerous climate, would have been forced to reëmbark, had it not been for a reënforcement of four thousand Anglo-Americans. Moro Castle was finally taken by storm, July 30: Havana capitulated a fortnight after (August 13). The Spanish government lost there fifty millions' worth of property, besides nine ships of the line, which had escaped the English bombs, and which the governor had not even the good sense to burn. The rich capital of Cuba and the western part of this great island remained in the power of the English.

During the siege of Havana, another English expedition set sail from Madras for the Philippines to deal Spain a new blow in the remote regions of the East. From the end of September to the beginning of October, an Anglo-Indian corps attacked, took, and pillaged Manilla, and obliged it to redeem itself from utter

destruction by a considerable ransom. Two galleons, freighted with enormous wealth, were likewise captured.

Never had the colonial empire of Spain received such blows. Spain, whose opportune intervention might have modified the fate of the war, had entered the field too late to prevent or repair the misfortunes of France, but in time to share them. There was reason to fear still other reverses: Panama and San Domingo were menaced, and the Anglo-Americans were preparing for the invasion of Florida and Louisiana.

Negotiations, however, had been resumed before the issue of the expeditions against Havana and Manilla was known. The hope founded by the cabinet of Versailles on the alliance of Spain had greatly diminished as soon as the real state of this kingdom had been viewed more closely. Choiseul, nevertheless, animated by the reverses themselves, would have gladly continued the struggle. A saying, very forcible for this enervated court, is quoted of him: "Were I the master, we would stand towards England like Spain towards the Moors: if this resolve were taken, England would be destroyed thirty years hence."[1] Louis XV. was not the one to comprehend such language. It must be granted that matters were at the last extremity: the financial resources were absolutely exhausted. Choiseul understood the necessity of renewing negotiations as soon as Lord Bute had made some insinuations on the subject through the medium of a neutral power, Sardinia. The English cabinet persisted in its conciliatory intentions, believing it impossible to develop its monarchical policy at home so long as the war kept up the national enthusiasm. The success at Martinique had not raised its pretensions. The French government being resigned to cruel sacrifices, the parleys, which commenced anew in the middle of September, 1762, would have proceeded rapidly, had it not been for the haughty obstinacy of the Spanish ambassador, Grimaldi. This plenipotentiary protracted the affair, expecting, he said, that the attack on Cuba could not but fail, and that the position of Spain would thereby become much better. The Cuban expedition proved a complete success: England increased its exorbitant demands with respect to Spain; and France, as we shall see, paid the penalty.

The preliminaries of peace between France, England, and Spain, were signed at Fontainebleau, November 3. France renounced all claims to the dependencies of Nova Scotia: she ceded

[1] Letter to the ambassador of France in Spain, April 5, 1762, ap. Flassan, t. VI. p 465.

Canada, the Island of Cape Breton, and all the Islands of the St. Lawrence; she also ceded the portion of Louisiana on the left of the Mississippi, with the exception of the city of New Orleans, all the Valley of the Ohio and the left bank of the Mississippi being considered as dependencies of Canada. In the West Indies, she ceded Grenada and the Grenadines, and surrendered three of the neutral islands to the English, who abandoned to her the fourth, St. Lucia, restoring to her Guadeloupe, Martinique, Marie Galante, and Desirade. France restored Minorca to the English,[1] ceded her important post of Senegal, and recovered the little Island of Goree. She recovered the possessions which she had had in India in 1749, including the site of Pondicherry, destroyed by its conquerors; but she renounced the right of keeping troops in Bengal, which left Chandernagore wholly at the mercy of the English. It was tacitly understood that the English Company would keep all its conquests. The restitution of the former settlements in India was not purely gratuitous; for a brave sailor, D'Estaing, setting sail from the Isle of France, had possessed himself, in 1760, of the flourishing English factories on the Island of Sumatra. England, in consequence of the right of fishing off Newfoundland granted to France, ceded the little Islands of St. Peter and Miquelon to serve as a shelter for the fishermen, on condition that they should not be fortified: the surveillance over these islands lately demanded by Pitt was no longer called in question; but Dunkirk, as a painful compensation, was to be restored to the same condition as before the war, and English engineers were empowered to go thither to assure themselves of this! France and England were to evacuate all that they held in the Empire as soon as possible, and to pledge themselves no longer to furnish any assistance to their respective allies who might remain engaged in the war of Germany. France was immediately to evacuate Ostend and Nieuwpoort. She tacitly renounced reclaiming the vessels taken before the declaration of war. England was to restore Belle-Isle at the time of the definitive treaty. The English cabinet, feeling the extreme difficulty of maintaining possession of it, had already ordered the fortifications to be blown up.

As to Spain, she renounced all pretensions to the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. She engaged to permit the English to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras, provided that they de-

[1] At the moment of the expedition of 1756, Pâris Duvernei had proposed to destroy the fortifications and to fill up Port Mahon, in the expectation that he would be obliged to restore the island to the English. — See *Correspondance de Richelieu*, p. 45.

molished the fortifications which they had erected there. England restored Havana, and all that she had taken elsewhere. Spain ceded to her Florida, and all that she possessed on the east of the Mississippi.

This cession completed the vast Anglo-American empire, which extended uninterruptedly from Labrador and Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi. This empire was not destined to be of long duration.

Spain and Portugal mutually restored what they had taken from each other, a clause to the advantage of the allies of England.[1]

Lastly, by a secret agreement signed on the same day as the preliminaries, the King of France promised Louisiana to the King of Spain, to indemnify him for the loss of Florida, and the impossibility of restoring Minorca to Spain. A French colony, full of promise, unscathed by the sword of the enemy, the last relic of our continental empire in America, was ceded like a flock of sheep! When this unhappy agreement was made public, the cabinet of Versailles strove to appease public opinion, deeply irritated, by insinuating, in its semi-official justifications, that Louisiana was threatened with the same fate as Canada, and that it was abandoned only because it would have been impossible long to keep it.

The Louisianians did not learn until the expiration of eighteen months of the treaty that denationalized them. Their governor, M. d'Abadie, died of sorrow. The grief was universal. During the first years, however, the administration being left in the hands of Frenchmen, the inhabitants of Louisiana might have fancied that they had not changed rulers; but when, in 1768, a Spanish captain-general came to take the government of the colony, all illusion became impossible. The colonists addressed new and useless supplications to the King who abandoned them, agitated plans of emigration in a body to the Anglo-American side of the river, resisted the establishment of the Spanish prohibitory system, and compelled the Spanish governor to quit the country. The following year, a new captain-general, an Irishman by the name of O'Reilly, landed with three thousand troops at New Orleans. The soldiers were able to set foot on the shore only through the intervention of the magistrates. Scarcely had O'Reilly landed, when he arrested, and put to death without trial, the attorney-general and several of the principal inhabitants of the colony

[1] Wenck, t. III. p. 313.

(August, 1769). Such was the inauguration of the rule of Spain, which, happily for Louisiana, was not long to retain this beautiful country.[1]

The treaty which sanctioned so many irreparable losses did not need this sorrowful episode to wring the hearts of Frenchmen. Yet the man to whom England owed her brilliant successes desperately opposed this treaty. Pitt deemed the conditions of peace far below what England should have exacted. He did not wish her to lay down her arms till she had stripped France of its last colony. Sick and exhausted, he caused himself to be carried to the parliament, to oppose there, for three whole hours, the proposition of a congratulatory address to George III. on the preliminaries of Fontainebleau. "France," he exclaimed, "is chiefly, if not exclusively, formidable to us as a maritime and commercial power: what we gain in this respect is valuable to us, above all, through the injury to her which results from it. . . . You leave to France the possibility of reviving her navy!"[2]

Although a numerous party espoused the passions and implacable system of Pitt, the address was voted by the House of Commons. England, however great might have been the increase of her wealth, bowed beneath the immense burdens of the war.

It was through regard for Austria that the cabinet of Versailles had postponed the definitive treaty, which was to be only the exact copy of the preliminaries. It wished to give the Empress-Queen time to compound on her side with Frederick II. Austria, obliged to renounce the advantage that she had derived from the French alliance, was about to find herself again alone before the Prussian hero. Already several of the electors and the princes of the Empire, terrified at seeing Prussian parties advancing to the very gates of Ratisbon, had treated separately with Frederick II. Maria Theresa resigned herself to necessity. Frederick saw his kingdom too much exhausted and depopulated not to accept an honorable compromise. Peace was signed, February 15, 1763, at Hubertsburg, between Austria, Prussia, and Saxony. The *statu quo ante bellum* was resumed as a basis. Only Frederick promised his vote to the Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans, and consented for the Duchy of Modena to be transferred to the House of Austria by the marriage of the heiress to one of the archdukes.

[1] Barbé-Marbois, *Hist. de la Louisiane*, p. 147; Flassan, t. VI. p. 478.
[2] Viel-Castel, Lord Chatham; *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. XXXI. p. 771: 1844.

The definitive treaty between France, England, and Spain, had been signed at Paris, February 10.

After this war, which had heaped up almost as many ruins in Germany as the Thirty-years' War, and had mowed down a million of men by the sword, fire, fever, and want,[1] the respective situation of the two principal Germanic powers was absolutely the same as before the first gun had been fired. The balance of power, on the contrary, was wholly destroyed between France and England. France had lost the flower of her marine,[2] her vast dominion in North America, the remains of the conquests of Dupleix and Bussi, her most valuable possession on the western coast of Africa, and several of the Lesser Antilles. England had acquired a prodigious territorial increase, and an overwhelming preponderance in public opinion. For the first time since the Middle Ages, she had conquered France by her own strength, and almost without allies; France having, on the contrary, powerful auxiliaries: she had conquered solely by the superiority of her government. Shame, moral wretchedness, and humiliation, — such was the result to our country of this contest commenced with ardor and glory. A speedily approaching future would show whether England had gained as much in reality as in appearance. In India, yes; and much more. In America, no: the excess of power there was paving the way for a fall.

In short, this disastrous peace had become necessary. The statesmen who signed it can be reproached for little else than the abandonment of Louisiana. But as to the monarch whose wretched policy had led to such a necessity, and the favorite whose wounded vanity had subverted the world and ruined and dishonored France, history cannot sufficiently stigmatize their names.

[1] Frederick estimated the losses of Prussia at one hundred and eighty thousand soldiers, besides the thousands of unfortunates who had perished by the ravages of the Russians. The losses of the Russians amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men; those of the Austrians, to one hundred and forty thousand; those of the French, to two hundred thousand; of the Anglo-Hanoverians, to one hundred and sixty thousand; of the Swedes, to twenty-five thousand; of the troops of the Circles, to twenty-eight thousand. — *Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, t. II. p. 414.

[2] Thirty-seven ships and fifty-six frigates, according to Sainte-Croix, t. II. p. 327. Nevertheless, as much had been built since 1755, the French marine was far from being found annihilated at the peace of Paris, as at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle: it had at least forty ships of the line in good condition.

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MARSEILLE.

APPENDIX.

THE PLAGUE OF MARSEILLES.

POPULAR opinion attributes this terrible calamity to a ship which brought the contagion from Saida in Syria; but nothing is less destitute of proof. The physicians of the Lazaretto of Marseilles had not perceived any symptom of pestilence among the crew of the ship, and nothing is known concerning the passengers, who did not enter the city until after twenty days of quarantine, and the traces of whom were then lost. However this may be, it was on the 25th of May, 1720, that this vessel arrived: in the course of July, symptoms of suspicious diseases appeared in one of the unhealthy and crowded quarters of the old town. The magistrates, together with the greater part of the physicians, at first took the necessary precautions with activity, but quietly, in order to avoid the malady of fear, — the most formidable of contagions. A few physicians, recognizing the plague, had the imprudence to utter this appalling name. The public imagination was immediately terror-stricken. After a storm (July 21), the disease suddenly assumed a violently epidemical character. The greater part of the men of wealth and the office-holders abandoned the city, and left the municipal magistrates destitute of resources and support. The emigration was slackened only by a decree of the Parliament of Aix, threatening with death any one who should quit the territory (suburbs) of Marseilles (July 31). A few men devoted themselves with admirable heroism to the immense task which the cowardice of their natural auxiliaries threw wholly upon them. History should not forget the names of the *échevins* Estelle and Moustier, and especially of that Chevalier Roze, who, without mission or title, came to claim his share in this funereal administration by the right of his magnanimity, and directed, through the superiority of his mind, the worthy associates who were his equals in courage. The Bishop Belzunce, until then appreciated only by the poor, to whom he was a father, was little known abroad, except as an intolerant bigot, unenlightened, and ruled by the Jesuits: he suddenly grew in the presence of danger to the level of the most sainted heroes

of Christendom. Abandoned by the ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the rich and selfish Benedictines of St. Victor, he found a steadfast courage in the other religious orders and the clergy of the parishes. The physicians, hastening from Montpelier, from Paris, and from all the scientific centres, showed themselves not less intrepid and humane. Religion and science, as has always been seen in these great ordeals, inspire the same virtues; but the like devotion was not alike fortunate: almost all the physicians escaped; the greater part of the clergy perished.

It is necessary to go back to the lugubrious descriptions left us by the historians of antiquity to form an idea of the picture presented, for several months, by this unhappy city, a prey to the pestilence and the accessory scourges that follow in its train,—dearth and anarchy. When the malady had attained its height, the plague-stricken were seen, driven from their homes by want, by the delirium of the disease, or by the ferocious fear of their nearest friends, lying along the streets and in the squares to die, or piled up in the entrance of the only hospital that was open to them,—a pestiferous gulf, from which none departed alive. Hands and wagons were soon lacking for so many interments. The corpses were piled on each other as thickly as possible in common pits; but, "fermentation having increased the volume of so many bodies heaped up together, the graves vomited forth their frightful deposit" (Lémontei, t. I. p. 383). The *échevin* Moustier, dragging after him a few soldiers, with pickaxe in hand, thrust back into the bosom of the earth these hideous remains. Elsewhere, on the esplanade of the Tourette, nearly two thousand corpses were rotting in the sun, "a pestilential volcano, a horrible mass, which could no longer be transported on account of its fluidity." The Chevalier Roze caused the arches of some old bastions adjoining the esplanade, and hollow to the level of the sea, to be broken in; then surrounded the fatal place at the head of a hundred galley-slaves, pushed before him the monstrous offal with which it was covered, and precipitated it into the waves.

The moral horrors equalled the physical horrors. In the face of these acts which did honor to human nature, every kind of vice and crime ran riot. Under the blow of those scourges which break all the bonds of society, all the ordinary rules and habits of life, or what may be called the middle term of human existence, disappear, and nothing is left but the extremes, the angel on one side, and the animal on the other,—but the animal depraved, without even the laws of instinct for a guide. The multitude now diverted their thoughts by plunging into the delirium of the senses, then rushed into the churches with frenzied outbursts of superstition rather than piety; but numbers of wretches remained strangers to these revulsions of feeling, and unceasingly sought from theft and murder the gold wherewith to keep up a perpetual orgy. The convicts and the acolytes that had been furnished to carry away the corpses assassinated

the sick in order to pillage them with impunity. Avarice dictated even more terrible crimes than debauchery. The *échevins* had collected in an alms-house three thousand abandoned children: they were left to die of hunger through economy!

From September to October, the disease diminished by degrees at Marseilles; but it broke out in the rest of Provence. Aix had been attacked as early as the month of August. All the city went into quarantine; each family shut itself up in its house; the sick, at the slightest symptom, were carried to the common infirmaries. This plan of defence was powerless: from seven to eight thousand of the inhabitants perished. A striking moral fact was seen at Aix: the courtesans hastened to the infirmaries to dispute with the nuns the right of serving and dying there. Toulon was much more unfortunate even than Aix: the population was almost annihilated; sixteen thousand inhabitants died out of twenty-six thousand,—a monstrous and unexampled proportion! Arles, in turn, lost nearly seven thousand souls; then Avignon was attacked; and the scourge, crossing the Rhone, precipitated itself upon Vivarais, Cévennes, and Gévaudan, where it slew several thousand persons; and finally died out, in the spring of 1721, on the plains of Languedoc. Marseilles was not wholly freed from it until the same epoch. The Bishop Belzunce, who had struggled against the epidemic with such energetic devotion, contributed perhaps to prolong it by processions and expiatory ceremonies, which massed the population under the empire of impressions too strong for minds so overwrought. Great fires, kindled in the squares by the advice of a physician, had also contributed to redouble the intensity of the disease, instead of purifying the air, as had been hoped.

The loss of the four principal cities of Provence amounted to almost eighty thousand souls, nearly fifty thousand of whom belonged to Marseilles and its suburbs. This loss was speedily repaired. The births multiplied to such an extent in Marseilles in the following period, that, at the expiration of five years, the population had regained its level. An insatiable thirst for pleasure, a *rage for living*, had taken possession of this people escaped from the tomb. "A mad joy," says Lémontei, "intoxicated this city of heirs." In forgetting the disease, they were also too forgetful of those who had heroically sacrificed themselves to combat it: the cowards who had fled returned only to vilify all that had been done in their absence; and the Chevalier Roze, who had ruined himself to save the city, was not even indemnified.

The government of the Regency does not appear to deserve all the reproaches that have sometimes been addressed to it with respect to the plague of Marseilles: it despatched medical assistance, grain, and money. Law, on the brink of ruin, sent a hundred thousand francs from his purse. Dubois, it is true, on the contrary, obstructed the despatch of three ships, laden with wheat, by Pope Clement XI. to Marseilles. Dubois, on bad terms at that moment with the Holy Father, did not desire this

obligation to be incurred to him. This contrast at once depicts Dubois and Law. The ships of the Pope were captured on the way by a Barbary pirate, who, more Christian than the Abbé Dubois, released them on learning of their destination.

See, concerning the plague of Marseilles, Lémontei's *Histoire de la Régence*, t. I. ch. xi. This is one of the best articles written by this witty and vividly colored pen

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